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LUDOLF, H. 36

A NEW

HISTORY

OF

ETHIOPIA.

BEING

A Full and Accurate DESCRIPTION

OF

The Kingdom of Abessinia.

Vulgarly, though Erroneously, called

The EMPIRE of *PRESTER JOHN.*

IN FOUR BOOKS

Wherein are Contained,

I. An Account of the Nature, Quality, and Condition of the Country; and Inhabitants; their Mountains, Metals, and Minerals; their Rivers, (particularly, of the Source of the *Nile* and *Niger*;) their Birds, Beasts, Amphibious Animals, (as the River-Horse and Crocodile;) Serpents, *&c.*

II. Their Political Government; the Genealogy and Succession of their Kings; a Description of their Court, and Camp; their Power, and Military Discipline; their Courts of Justice, *&c.*

III. Their Ecclesiastical Affairs; their Conversion to the Christian Religion, and the Propagation thereof, their Sacred Writings, their Sacraments, Rites, Ceremonies, and Church-Discipline; the Decrease of the *Romish* Religion, their Contentions with the *Jesuits*, their Separation from the *Greek Church*, *&c.*

IV. Their Private Oeconomy, their Books and Learning, their common Names, their Diet, Marriages, and Polygamies; their Mechanick Arts and Trades; their Burials; their Merchandize and Commerce, *&c.*

Illustrated with Copper Plates.

By the Learned JOB LUDOLPHUS, *Counsellor to His Imperial Majesty and the Dukes of* Saxony, *and Treasurer to His Highness the Elector* Palatine.

The Second Edition.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A New and Exact Map of the Country: As also, a Preface, shewing the Usefulness of this History; with the Life of *Gregorius Abba*; and the Author's Opinion of some other Writers concerning *Ethiopia.* Translated out of his Learned Manuscript Commentary on this History.

Made *English* by *J. P.* Gent.

LONDON,

Printed for *Samuel Smith* Bookseller, at the *Princes Arms* in St. *Paul's* Church yard. 1684.

THE PREFACE OF THE BOOKSELLER TO THE READER.

THevenotius, when he publiſhed ſome things, in the Fourth Part of his *Curious Voyages*, taken out of *Tellezius*, begins with theſe Words: *Never any Author had greater Reaſon to publiſh his Hiſtory than* Tellezius; *for all that we had before him, concerning* Ethiopia, *was Fabulous*, &c. We may affirm the ſame of our Author, with much more reaſon. For *Tellezius* did onely write in the *Portugueſe* Language, for the ſake of his own Countrymen; beſides, he too much favours the Jeſuits, whoſe Actions he every where defends; and, on the other ſide, is all along ſevere upon the *Habeſſins*: although as to things of Fact, he gives a true Account, and therefore is both approved of, and commended by our Author. But our Author writ in *Latin*, that his Hiſtory of Things unknown, or at leaſt which had been conveyed to us under many Miſtakes, might be truly communicated to all Learned Men. Whereas it would be very conſiderable to have a more certain Account of the Kingdom of the *Habeſſins*, as well of their Eccleſiaſtical State, as Civil; eſpecially, when ſo many things worthy of being remarked, concerning ſome Wonders of Nature, as the *Nile*, ſtupendious Rocks, and the moſt lofty tops of Mountains, the true Situation

tion of this Country, and its Chorographical Map, the ancient Family of the Kings, Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, and the like, are here to be met with, which ſtretch themſelves through all Learning, and its ſeveral Parts. For example: Should any one deſign to write an Univerſal Hiſtory, either Sacred or Profane, to give an Account of the Geography, the Manners, the Languages, the Literature of Nations, or any thing of the like Nature, they cannot be without this Excellent Work. Let onely the Table of the Chapters of this Book be looked upon, from theſe we may eaſily diſcern the Multitude and Variety of Things here treated of. Which is the Cauſe which prevailed with me to procure its Tranſlation into *Engliſh*, ſo that the Curious and Inquiſitive Wits of our Nation (to whom probably the *Latin* Tongue is not ſo familiar) may underſtand all theſe things, and make uſe of them, or at leaſt ſatisfie their Curioſity.

It will be alſo very uſeful to thoſe who travel into *India*, and to the *Red Sea*, in order to their Converſe with the *Habeſſins* (ſhould they accidentally happen on any of them) both to underſtand their Language, as alſo to make Obſervation of thoſe things which are neceſſary for the Continuation of this Hiſtory, and for the more perfect Knowledge of the preſent State of *Habeſſinia*, and for the giving us a true Relation of what they find there.

It is not ſignificant that I ſhould ſpeak any thing of our Honourable and Learned Author, he being already ſo well known to moſt of our Nation, as well on the account of his eminent Learning, as from his prudent Management of the Publick Affairs of State, and therefore he cannot want my Recommendation. Neither can there be the leaſt reaſon why any ſhould doubt of his Fidelity, when through his whole Work he doth ſo ingenuouſly mention his Authors; ſo that in the very Concern of Religion, in which generally Men are partial, he would not have his Reader credit him ſo much as his Authors every where cited and referred to: So that indeed thoſe who profeſs a different Religion from his, cannot reaſonably ſuſpect him, as the Reader may eaſily diſcern through his whole Book. But our Tranſlator may need ſome Apology, for not exactly expreſſing, in ſome few places, the Senſe of our Author, and falling ſhort of that Elegancy and Brevity which he uſes. For all know, who have been concerned in

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the Verſion of Books, that no Tranſlation can reach the Propriety of Expreſſion in the Original. Neither can thoſe pertinent Sentences, and witty Sayings of one Language, retain their Agreeableneſs in another, as will eaſily appear to the Reader. I might here mention equivocal Words, which can ſcarce ever be turned by Words of another Language which are exactly of the ſame Force and Signification. For example: When our Author writes, *Immanes Gallanos ſignum occiſi hominis maſculi afferre, atque projicere, & cumulare coram exercitu, quaſi barbara iſta fortitudo ſine teſtibus eſſe non poſſet.* Alſo, *A moribus Solomonis alienum non fuiſſe, ut poſt tot ænigmata, etiam Reginæ Sabæ ceſtum ſolverit*: and many others of the like nature. Wherefore we both beg, and hope for Pardon from our Author, and all others.

But probably, ſome Mens Curioſity may prompt them to inquire, How, and by what means, thoſe things of which the remaining part of this Preface chiefly conſiſts, and which gives ſo much Light to the enſuing Hiſtory, ſo happily fell into my Hand? Of this, *Reader*, take this brief Account.

The Honourable Author, Mr. *Jobus Ludolfus*, coming lately into *England*, did confer with ſome Learned Men of our Nation, concerning his Commentary on his *Ethiopick* Hiſtory, and happning on this Tranſlation of his Work, wiſhed that he had had the View of it before its publiſhing, that ſo he might have been able to have given ſome neceſſary Advice about it, and, where need requires, more fully explained his Senſe: For example; *L.* 2. *c.* 18. the Word *Servus* is tranſlated *Servant*, when indeed in that place it ought to be turned *Slave*: with ſome other ſlight Miſtakes, which will eaſily appear, and may as eaſily be corrected, by thoſe who pleaſe to compare this Verſion with the *Latin* Original. But being requeſted by me, That he would vouchſafe to communicate ſomething towards a Second Edition in *Engliſh*, this Honourable Perſon, with great Courteſie, gave me leave to tranſlate what here follows, out of his moſt Learned Commentary.

After his Diſcourſe of *Balthazar Tellezius*, he gives us this following Relation of *Gregorius* the *Habeſsin*, from whom he received the Notice of many particular Things mentioned in his Hiſtory, of which we have no Account from any other Author: To whom alſo he was obliged, for his more accurate Knowledge in the *Ethiopick* Tongue.

The History of Gregorius Abba *the* Habeſſin. *Collected out of Mr.* Job Ludolph's *Commentary.*

GRegorius was eſteemed a Perſon of great Credit, and on whoſe Authority any one may ſecurely rely, not onely by me, but by the Prince himſelf, *Erneſtus* Duke of *Saxony*, and his Counſellors. And therefore we think it worth our pains to treat a little more largely of him, that not onely his Manners and Underſtanding may be known, but alſo the Reader may be acquainted how he came into *Germany* to me, and what he did at *Gota*. Being requeſted by me, before he came into *Germany*, to give briefly an Account of his Country, Family, and Life; in a Letter writ to me the Sixteenth of *October*, 1650. he thus anſwers. *My Beloved Friend, Let not my Family ſeem to you to be of a low Condition; for it is of the* Amharican *Houſe, the Lineage of Nobles, who are Governours of the* Ethiopian *People, Princes, Generals, and Counſellors of the King of Kings of* Ethiopia; *who promote to Dignities, and depoſe from them; they Command and Rule in the Place of the King. I alſo my ſelf have been converſant with the King, Princes, and Nobles, &c.* Being deſcended from an Honourable Family in a Town of *Amhara*, called * *Macana-celace*, about the beginning of this Century, † in his Childhood he applied himſelf to the Study of Good Letters, and made ſo conſiderable a Progreſs in them, that amongſt his own Countrymen he was accounted Eminent, and extraordinary Learned, for which Reaſon he was ſtyled *Abba*. So that *Alphonſus Mendez*, the *Portugueſe* Patriarch, conſidering his great Wit, made him the Governour of thoſe Noble Youths whom he brought up in his own Houſe, as in a Seminary. For this *Gregorius* was at that time a Diſciple of the Fathers of the Society, which were alſo in great Reputation with the King, and many of the Nobility. He was ſo much an Admirer of their Doctrine and excellent Learning, that afterwards when they grew into leſs eſteem, and were baniſhed, he followed them into *India*. But not finding there what he expected, becauſe of his ſpeaking ſomething freely of the Fathers Actions, he deſigned to come into *Portugal*. Going aboard, he was commanded by the Maſter of the Ship to go back, juſt as they were ſetting Sail, in vain asking the reaſon, he was put into the Boat, and carried to Shore without the Neceſſaries for his Voyage he had put on board, which he, crying out *Minha roupa, minha roupa*, did to no purpoſe deſire. So being deprived of all Hope, he fitted

* Alvarez *makes mention of this Town*, cap. 63, 64.

† *He was of a middle ſtature, a blackiſh colour; he had curled hair, as other* Ethiopians *have, but a more ingenious Countenance.*

ted himself to return into his own Country, and went aboard a small *Indian* Vessel, which landing him on the *Arabian* Shore, he underwent many grievous Trials from his own Countrymen; for the *Habessins* being taken Captive in their Youth, and sold to the petty Princes of *Arabia*, and abandoning the Christian Religion, for the excellency of their Wit, are made Governours of the Sea-Ports and Cities, (as we have shewed in our History;) These afterwards do sollicite others, by the pretence of Rewards, and their own Example, to embrace the Religion of the *Saracens*. Afterwards being arrived at *Suaquene*, he found three Capuchin Friars (after the Banishment of those Jesuits sent from *Rome*) travelling into *Habessinia*. They did very much rejoyce, that they had hapned on a Man by whom they might send their Letters, unwarily indited, to the King of *Ethiopia*, concerning their Coming and Mission. They importune *Gregorius* that he would undertake the Message; but he being too cautious, would not hazard the Reward that the Authors of them met with, *viz.* the loss of their Heads. And therefore the Letters were conveyed by the *Arabians*, as is declared in our History; and he coming alone to the Court, was soon reconciled to the King: For he returned satisfactory Answers to all the Questions which were cunningly proposed to him by the King, concerning the Condition of the *Portugueses* in *India*, in relation to their Wars, Commerce, and Shipping, what the Jesuits did with their Patriarch, and what they did design? But not long after, it was laid to his charge by his Rivals, chiefly the Monks, that he had followed the Jesuits as a Traytor, out of the Kingdom; and being a Disciple of those *Loyolites*, he was loaden with Chains. But by the Kings contrivance (who could not defend him against so many Enemies) being privately set at liberty, he made his Escape, as if the Chains had been broke, and once more left the Kingdom. He came by Land into *Egypt*, from thence into *Italy*, and at last to *Rome*. *Tellezius* writes thus concerning him: Abba Gregorius, *the* Habessin, *was very conversant in the House of the Patriarch; he was well versed in* Ethiopick *Books, who returned out of* India *with a design to help his Native Country, which he was forced a second time to forsake, by reason of those grievous Persecutions he there met with from the Monks.* But being entertained at *Rome* in the College of the *Habessins*, he, with three others, *L.6. c.37.*

were

were maintained at the Pope's Charge: Amongst whom, *Antonius de Andrade*, whose Father was a *Portugueſe*, and his Mother an *Habeſſinian*, was wont to say *Maſs*, which he did always hear ſtanding, according to the Cuſtom of his own Country, as he did alſo in other Places. For the ancient Popes did prudently allow the Liberty of their own Rites to Forreign Chriſtians, that by this means they might draw the more to *Rome*; and they alſo gave an Houſe, with the Chappel of St. *Stephen* in the *Vatican*, behind St. *Peter*'s Church, where the *Habeſſins* have lived above an hundred Years, and before ever they were accounted Hereticks or Schiſmaticks, as they now are, did celebrate *Maſs* after their own way, in the *Ethiopick* Tongue, as *Joh. Potken*, in his Preface to the *Ethiopick Pſalter*, put out at *Rome*, *Anno* 1513. teſtifies. They have alſo printed their *Liturgies*, *Anno* 1548. which are now extant together with the *New Teſtament*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, are found tranſlated into *Latin*; which nevertheleſs the Jeſuits did diſapprove of in *Ethiopia*.

Three Months after him, *viz. Anno* 1649. I alſo came to *Rome*, to enquire after ſome ancient *Swediſh* Records and Manuſcripts, which were ſuppoſed to have been carried thither by *Johannes Magnus* Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and Primate of *Swethland*, who left his Country on the account of the Alteration of Religion. For *Ericus* the Son of *George*, otherwiſe called *Tegel*, a *Sweth*, writes, in his Hiſtory of *Guſtavus* I. King of *Swethland*, thus: *Dr.* Johannes Magnus, *Elect Archbiſhop of* Upſal, (*when he intended to leave* Swethland) *did put up whatever he had which was valuable, together with the moſt ancient and choiceſt Acts, Epiſtles, Annals, Genealogies, and other Records, which had been preſerved in the Cathedral of* Upſal, *and other Places, and carried them to* Rome *with him. Out of which Acts and ancient Monuments, he afterwards writ a Chronologie in* Latin, *of all the Kings of* Swethland, *who have Governed that Nation from the Flood to the Reign of* Guſtavus; *as alſo, concerning the Government of our Anceſtors the* Goths, *and their Tranſactions with other Nations.* But *Chriſtina* Queen of *Swethland* commanding that eminent Perſon *Sheringus Roſenhane*, her Embaſſadour to the *French* King, that he ſhould ſend ſome fit Perſon to *Rome* to enquire about the ſaid Records, he committed the Management of this Affair to me, that privately, under the pretence of ſtudying Antiquity, I ſhould ſearch for them, and having once found them,

them, ſhould uſe all means to recover them. And that I might the better ſucceed in this Affair, beſides very many others, he alſo obtained the King's Letters, by which I was recommended to the Marqueſs *de Fontenay Mareuil*, the *French* Embaſſador. But thoſe Manuſcripts were either never conveyed to *Rome*, or in the Reign of *Sigiſmund* were carried into *Poland*. Going therefore all over the City to no purpoſe, I enquired for the *Habeſsins*, whom I had heard lived at *Rome*, whom at laſt I found in their College before-mentioned. I addreſſed to them, and acquainted them how deſirous I was to learn the *Ethiopick* Language: They ſurround me, and wonder, and at length demand the Reaſons; to which, being heard, they return this Anſwer: *That that could not be done out of* Ethiopia, *for it was a thing of great Labour, and much Time: That there was indeed one* Gregorius *there, a very Learned Man,* (whom they ſhewed me) *but that he neither underſtood* Latin, *nor* Italian. I deſired they would onely reſolve ſome Doubts, and ſatisfie my Difficulties, for that I had already acquired the Rudiments of that Language. *Gregorius* underſtanding from his Companions what I deſired, immediately runs in, and fetches a great Parchment Book, curiouſly writ, and bids me read, (it was the Book of the Councils, which I deſcribe in my Hiſtory.) At which they could not abſtain from Laughter, eſpecially *Gregorius*, who ſaid, *He reads like Father Athanaſius*, meaning *Kircher*, who had learned to pronounce it, as I had done, not from the Inſtructions of any Maſter by word of Mouth, but from the printed * *Alphabets* of *Potkenius* and *Marianus Victorius*: out of which none can learn to read well; for in them both the Conſonants and Vowels are expreſſed very unfitly by *Latin* Letters, without any Direction. But when I went about to interpret, they turned their Laughter into Admiration, ſcarce believing that that Language, which ſeemed ſo difficult (as they ſaid) to the Fathers of the Society, who abode ſo long in *Ethiopia*, could be learned without a Maſter. For afterwards *Gregorius* writ thus to me: *The Fathers* (meaning the Jeſuits) *who came from* Italy *and* Portugal, *were many Years in our Country, and we find none amongſt them able to perform what you do, in writing and interpreting Epiſtles in our Language, notwithſtanding they were learned in Books, and Divines.*

Lib. 3.

* *Syllabarium.*

So getting acquaintance with them, I daily viſited *Gregorius*: But at the beginning we did not converſe in Diſcourſe;

for he underſtood no *European* Language beſides the *Portugueſe*, and that not very perfectly, which then I had not learned. He was then beginning to learn the *Italian*: So that we did a long time confer by an Interpreter, *Antonius d' Andrade*, and at laſt began to diſcourſe imperfectly our ſelves. Afterwards we converſed in the *Ethiopick*, which neither of us had ever before ſpoke; for amongſt the *Habeſſins* the *Amharick* Dialect is uſed in ſpeaking through the whole Kingdoms, the *Ethiopick* onely in Writing. Concerning ſpeaking the *Ethiopick*, I had not ſo much as dreamed. So that we were forced, that we might underſtand each other, to uſe a Tongue to which neither of us had been accuſtomed. *Gregorius* was very knowing in the Affairs of his own Country; for he had followed the Court very long, firſt in a Private Capacity, and then as a Domeſtick of the Patriarch. He was well acquainted with the Royal Family, the Nobility, and the ſeveral Affairs which had been acted in this Age. Beſides this, he was Eloquent, and Witty, and behaved himſelf courteouſly and affably to all, and did not conceal from me any thing I asked him, and communicated to me as many Books as he had there. In requital, I gave him an Account of the Affairs of *Europe*, he deſired to know. After my departure, he expreſſed his earneſt Deſire of ſeeing me again by frequent Letters, and accepted of the Condition I had offered him of coming into *Germany* at my Charges. I had invited him to *Erford*, into my Country, where my Mother did then live; but I had not writ the Name of *Erfurt* plain enough in *Ethiopick* Characters, ſo that he read it *Erfart*, which in the *German* Language is pronounced *Ehrfahrt*, that his Friends whom he conſulted, told him they knew no ſuch Place; and it might be, that I, being caſually asked, had ſo anſwered. So that one Letter or Point, not rightly placed or read, occaſioned the Miſtake. For the ſame Reaſon *Acalexus*, an inconſiderate *Habeſſinian* young Man, following *Gregorius*, without any Recommendation, enquired for the City of *Erfart* in *Germany*, and loſing his Labour, at laſt returned into *Italy*, (as I have ſhewn in my Hiſtory.) An Accident not unlike this hapned to the moſt eminent Biſhop *Walton*, who deſired to have my Aſſiſtance in the *Ethiopick*, when he put forth the *Polyglot Bible*; but he directing ſome of his Letters to *Hervordia* in *Weſtphalia*, whereas he ſhould have directed them *Erfordiam*, or *Erfurtum*, was the cauſe

cauſe they never came to my Hand; from whence it was, that I could not give my Aſſiſtance to ſo great a Work, as I willingly would have done, nor prevent not a few Miſtakes in the *Ethiopick* Verſion, and the *Latin* Interpretation of it.

But to return to *Gregorius*, who was now on his Journey, when the moſt Serene Prince, *Erneſtus* Duke of *Saxony*, to whom I had given an Account of the whole Matter, commanded that I ſhould bring him to *Gota*, to his Court, for that he was very deſirous to underſtand the Truth of the Affairs of the *Habeſſins*, whom he had heard to have been ancient *Chriſtians*, and that he would bear all the Expence of his Journey. I was not unwilling, by this means, to be freed from the Burden of his Expences, and ſo I wrote to *Gregorius*, who was already come into *Germany*. He being wholly ignorant which way he went, or which way he ſhould return, or by whom he was ſent for, anſwered, *That he was at my diſpoſal, that I might do what ſeemed to me juſt and right.* I went therefore as far as *Nurnberg* to meet him; there, as ſoon as I ſaw him, he fell into an Ecſtaſie of Joy, moſt affectionately embracing me, that he almoſt drew Tears from me, reflecting, that I, but a private Perſon, and a young Man, not yet ſetled in the World, nor as yet knowing the Charitable Intention of the Prince of *Gota*, had prevailed with that good Man, being more than Fifty Years old, and alſo lame in his Feet, to come from Forreign Countries, into the Heart of *Germany*.

Duke *Erneſtus* commanded him firſt to be carried to his Caſtles of *Heldburg* in *Franconia*, and after to that of *Tenneberg* in *Thuringia*, that his Qualities being found out, he might the better know how to entertain and treat him. When therefore nothing that was diſagreeable was related of his Perſon, Manners, and Inclinations, being clothed in the *German* Faſhion, he was brought to the Caſtle of *Gota*, called *Friedenſtein*, and there placed in a convenient Apartment with me. Afterwards, on an appointed day, being called to the Prince, the Chancellor, and the reſt of his Counſellors, both Secular and Eccleſiaſtical, being preſent, after he had made his Obeiſance, he ſaid, *That he gave Thanks to the Immortal God, that had granted him the good Fortune both to behold and ſpeak to a Chriſtian Prince, beyond his hope and expectation, in the remote Countries of the North, whoſe Piety and Prudence, ſince his coming into theſe Parts, he had heard highly ſpoke of; neither could he hope leſs from his Clemency*

mency and Benevolence, who had entertained him, who was a Stranger, and unknown, ſo charitably, and had admitted him to kiſs his Hand. To which the Prince replied, *That it was not leſs acceptable to him, to ſee a Chriſtian, from ſuch remote Parts, in his Court: That the Divine Providence was to be adored with the greateſt Praiſes, that had preſerved the* Ethiopick *Church in* Africa. *through ſo many Ages, amongſt ſo many barbarous People, amongſt ſo many Perſecutions of the Mahumetans; and commanded him not at all to doubt of his Benevolence.* Which when I was about to interpret in *Italian*, that the By-ſtanders might underſtand what I ſaid, he cried out in the *Amharican* Dialect, *Metzhaféna, Metzhaféna; In* Ethiopick, *in* Ethiopick. All admiring what he meant, he told them, *Whereas he had to do with a Prince, he ought to underſtand moſt accurately what he ſpoke, that he might know what to anſwer him; and therefore he did deſire, that I would diſcourſe with him in the* Ethiopick *Tongue.* Which I did as well as I could. Then he replied, *That it was true, that the Chriſtian Religion had been miraculouſly preſerved in his Country ſo many Ages, and did wonderfully extol the Antiquity of it.* The Prince anſwered, *That the principal Reaſon of his Invitation of him was, that he ſhould declare the State of Religion and Civil Affairs in his Native Country, for that many and great things were every where in* Europe *reported of his Country; concerning which he did deſire to be better ſatisfied from his Mouth, and that nothing of our Affairs ſhould be concealed from him.* So he was kindly diſmiſſed, and ſoon after Counſellors were aſſigned, who were to diſcourſe him. Theſe, at the Princes command, collected out of certain ancient Books (becauſe at that time they had not any others at hand) whatſoever had been reported of the Affairs of the *Habeſſins* by our Writers. The greateſt part of thoſe things which were ancient, were taken out of that ſtrange Confeſſion of Faith of *Tzaga-Zaabus*, (which we hereafter mention, *l.* 3. *c.* 1.) which ſometimes cauſed *Gregorius* to laugh, ſometimes to be angry, as we ſhall ſhew. To thoſe things therefore that were propoſed, he anſwered, and alſo ſometimes diſcourſed more copiouſly of them, that the State of Religion, and the Civil Government, might ſufficiently be underſtood from him. But we then wanted the later Writings of the Fathers of the Society of *Jeſus*, and their Annual Relations publiſhed in *Portugueſe*, and therefore never or ſeldom ſeen in *Germany*; which if we had had, we could have examined things more narrowly,

rowly, and discoursed with him more particularly. So that being asked onely of what was Antique, Whether they were true or false? he did often consistently affirm and deny them, according to the diversity of Times.

He was knowing in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Three first General Councils, (which are onely received in *Ethiopia*) and in the Symbolical Books of the *Habessins*: Yet he had imbibed some things from the Doctrine of the Fathers of the Society, which caused him to relate the Opinions of the *Ethiopians* which are different from ours, sometimes ambiguously, and sometimes more agreeably, as afterwards *I* easily discovered from the Relations of *Tellezius*, and other Fathers. The Prince himself did often times confer with him; he often sent for *Gregorius* to him, and frequently came alone to him. When he heard his ready and solid Answers, how he pertinently cited the *Psalter* and the *New Testament*, (for he had no other *Ethiopick* Books with him) and presently found and shewed the cited Places, he had a value for the Man, and bestowed considerable Favours on him; of which he being sensible, with a Modesty mixt with Freedom, satisfied the Princes Questions, and demonstrated his Respect by the most dutiful Expressions. When for some time he had not seen the Prince, he told him, *That a Cloud of Sadness had overshadowed his Mind, whereas he had not been enlightned with the Sun of his Clemency*: (for he frequently made use of the like kind of *Ethiopick* Elegancies to him.) Duke *Ernestus* answered, *That the Minds of Christians could not be obscured with Grief, so long as the Sun of Righteousness shined upon them.*

At this time, Prince *Johannes Ernestus*, the Duke's eldest Son, being about Eleven years old, a Child of an excellent Wit, was alive, whose Governour *I* afterwards was. He coveted to be very frequently with *Gregorius*, and to discourse with him; which opportunity his Masters made use of, pretending, that he ought to discourse in *Latin* (which at another time he did with some reluctancy) with such a Stranger. He complied, and that with good success, although he was sufficiently sensible there was need of my Interpretation. Therefore he often visited *Gregorius*, who by receiving him with Compliance, and praising him for giving the right Meaning of some difficult things in the Bible, did wonderfully obtain upon him.

After his departure out of *Italy* to go into his Country, he took his leave of this his Patron, in an *Ethiopick* Epiſtle: But a little after, hearing that he was dead, he gave a Teſtimony of his Grief by a written Lamentation, and an *Ethiopick* * Funeral Song. But he did chiefly eſteem Prince *Frederick* the ſecond Son, who now governs his Anceſtor's Dominions, who, though then but ſix Years old, had a mixture of Gravity and Courteſie, in his Going, his Speech, and Countenance.

* Epicedium: *Gr.* ἐπικήδειον. *Some diſtinguiſh* Epicedium *and* Epitaphium *thus,* Epicedium *is before the Burial of the Body;* Epitaphium *is after the Burial.*

In the mean time *Gregorius* was not uninquiſitive into our Affairs, but enquired narrowly into the State of the Dominion, the Reaſon of the Government, and the Manners of the Court. When therefore he underſtood, that Duke *Erneſtus* enjoyed the Chief Privileges of Kingly Government in his Dominion; that he had the Chief Power in Eccleſiaſtical Things; that he publiſhed Laws and Edicts; that he determined Controverſies, without Appeal; that he impoſed Taxes, that he raiſed Armies, that he convoked the States of his Dominion, that he coined Money, with many other Rights which the Princes of *Germany* claim in their Territories, by the Laws of our Empire, or the Conceſſions of Emperours; he wondring, ſaid, *We ſhould call ſuch a Prince a King.* But when he heard, there were many more, and thoſe richer, Princes in *Germany*, both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, Counts and Abbots, as alſo Free Cities, and all united in one Body, under the Emperour, as their Head; he was ready to imagine, that ſome *Platonical* Polity was feigned; replying, *How Great an Emperour muſt he needs be, who rules, and keeps within the Boundaries of their Duty, Men of ſuch a various Condition and Religion? How can they live in Peace amongſt themſelves?* * For *Ariſtocracy* and *Democracy* are unknown Forms of Government to them, and he underſtood nothing of their Foundation and Conſtitution, before he came into *Europe*: For *Africa* knows no other Government beſides *Monarchy.* Indeed many People live at large, without any Government; and ſome obey their Chieftains for ſome ſet time. Their Kingdoms, for the moſt part, are ſo conſtituted, that One is Lord, and the reſt are accounted Slaves. But when he heard, and ſaw, that with us the Subjects enjoyed a reaſonable Liberty, that the Prince was intent on the Buſineſs of his Government, that he acted nothing by violence, nothing raſhly. but managed all things by mature Counſel, the Matter being well weighed;

* *N. B.*

that

that he daily frequented the Aſſemblies of his Counſellors; that he was eaſie to be addreſſed to, and ready to receive the Petitions of ſuch who preſented them, which he did not throw aſide, but took care of their diſpatch; he declared, *That thoſe People are happy who are thus governed.* But when he conſidered the Court, and found all things to be there managed orderly, without Pride and Luxury; that the Prince himſelf did moſt ſtrictly obſerve the Hours of Divine Worſhip, and Prayers, as if they had been Canonical; that he did carefully educate his Children in Piety, and Ingenuous Arts; that the Family was called Morning and Evening to Prayers; that Dinner and Supper were begun and ended at appointed Hours; that Diſcipline and Good Manners were obſerved, as if it had been in a * Monaſtery; that Idleneſs and Wantonneſs were abſent; he exclaimed his wonted *O wonderful!* and acknowledged, that ſcarce his *Icegus* (the Chief of their Monks) could live more holily.

* Aſceterium *Gr.* Ἀσκητήριον. *A Place in which the ancient Monks lived in a more ſtrict Exerciſe of Vertue, and under a more ſevere Diſcipline; from whence they are called* Aſceticks.

Neither did he leſs admire the Duke's Care in re-beautifying the City, in building a new Caſtle, and buſying himſelf even about Private Affairs. For the Prince himſelf was always preſent, he prepared all things, he left few things to be onely done by his Miniſters, ſo careful was he to provide for Poſterity. When he ſaw Grain gathered in, and even Hay, (as is neceſſary in *Europe*) to be ſtored up, *How excellent* (ſays he) *would ſuch Proviſion be againſt Locuſts, which indeed deſtroy every green and leaved thing, from whence proceed, ſcarcity of Food, from thence Famine, and the Death of Men and Cattel.* What his thoughts were of our Affairs, and what he related of thoſe of his Country, we ſhall mention in their due place. When he heard ſo many vain and fabulous Stories to be reported concerning the *Habeſſins*, by our Writers, he did with indignation ſay, *That the* Europeans *were ſick of a certain Itch of Writing, and did both write and publiſh whatſoever they heard, whether true or falſe; That his Countrymen were wholly heretofore ignorant of this their Humour, otherwiſe they would have anſwered more cautiouſly to their queſtions, ſo that our Interpreters might have underſtood them rightly: That when he firſt ſaw the famous Library of* Alphonſus *the* Portugueſe *Patriarch, and the Books put out with the Royal Privilege, and the Licence and Approbation of Great Men, he looked on Printing as ſome Sacred Invention, to be reckoned amongſt the* Regalia *of Princes, and ſuppoſed that nothing was printed, but what*

was true, and good, and useful to the Publick; but that he was amazed when he found, that many fictitious, vain, and trifling things, and indeed hurtful to the Publick, were daily sent to the Press.

But in Composing my *Ethiopick Lexicon*, he willingly assisted me, and with a great deal of readiness did explain the more difficult Places of Authors, and Words more rarely used: and this he did with much exactness, if the Words were pure *Ethiopick*; but in Words and Things which were Exotick, or Forreign, he most frequently mistook, and presently ran to the *Sausau*, *i. e.* the great *Dictionary* of his Country. But he was wholly ignorant how to compose a *Dictionary* or *Grammar*, and did not at all understand how to place Words according to their * Primitives, and at the first was much against it, (as *I* have shewed in my History.) But when he observed me to set in order both what *I* read and heard from him, and to refer the Derivatives to their Primitives, he frequently repeated his *O wonderful!* And when he had discoursed concerning the different Signification of any Word, he would add, *Now do you dispose that according to your Art.* *I* did also explain to him the Mysteries (as he called them) of the *Latin Grammar*, and by this means he became more ready in answering my Questions. When *I* had explained to him the Terms of Art, *viz.* The *Declensions*, *Conjugations*, *Cases*, *Tenses*, and the like, with much labour, in the *Ethiopick* Tongue, as soon as he understood the End and Use of them, *It is revealed*, says he, *to God be the Praise*: And, *All things have their Names in* Europe; meaning, Terms of Art. For he was so desirous to learn the *Latin* Tongue, that in my absence from him for two days, this hopeful Scholar proposed to himself for his Task, to learn by Heart, by frequent reading and repeating, the whole *Etymologie*, the *Declensions*, and all the *Conjugations*. Therefore beginning in the Morning, by constantly reciting till late at Night, and endeavouring by himself, none molesting him, he had so disturbed his Head, that at my return *I* found him ill of a *Vertigo*, or Dizziness. A Physician was called, who enquiring diligently into the Cause of this unwonted Distemper, at last we found that it proceeded from too much attention in Studying. But he did after complain, that the Fathers of the Society, when they lived in *Ethiopia*, could not possibly be prevailed with to teach the Children of his Country the *Latin* Tongue. The Reason of this we have given

* Radices; me enim per-ludibrium interrogabat, num putarem verba in Solo Æthiopico radices agere.

given an Account of in our Hiſtory. Indeed *Gregorius* had earneſtly deſired to learn this amongſt us, that he might be able to underſtand *Latin* Authors; and for that very thing, made no mention of his Departure: But it ſeemed good to the Prince to ſend him back before Winter, leſt he, being a Perſon accuſtomed to a warmer Climate, and growing old, might be impaired in his Health, by the unwonted Cold; eſpecially as well becauſe he ſo earneſtly deſired to return to his Country, as alſo that he might ſhortly relate to the King and Nobles of *Ethiopia* what he had ſeen and heard amongſt us. He departed therefore from *Gota*, with a Reſolution and Promiſe to return into his Country, although the Patriarch *Alphonſus* by Letters had diſſwaded him. But he ſtaid in *Italy* between hope and fear, as alſo in *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*, longer than he intended. At his arrival in *Italy* (the return into his Country being unſafe) Duke *Erneſtus* ſent to him a Stipend, to ſupport him in his Baniſhment, which he accepted with a thankful Mind, as he did ſufficiently acknowledge by Letters writ in *Ethiopick* to the Prince.

He refuſed a competent Support, which was offered him, if he would return into *Germany*; ſo prevalent in him was the Love of his Country: and therefore he did once more make an Attempt to return into it. But it pleaſed the Almighty, in ſtead of conducting him to his Earthly Country, to open to him an Heavenly one. For after he had ſailed over the *Mediterranean* with a proſperous Gale, going to *Alexandretta* in a ſmall Boat, he, with Twenty four others, not far from the Shore, was caſt away. The *French* Conſul at *Aleppo* cauſed his Body to be found and buried.

This is that *Gregorius* whom we every where commend, and on whoſe Credit we depend about the *Ethiopian* Affairs, which are found in no other Author. If amongſt them any thing ſhould chance to be not ſo perfectly related, let the Miſtake be imputed to me, who at the beginning of our Acquaintance, perchance, might not ſo well underſtand him. For he was of that ſincerity and integrity of Mind, that he would not deſignedly affirm any thing to me that was falſe, though he might, through Humane Weakneſs, commit ſome Errour.

After this Account of *Gregorius*, whoſe Credit our Honourable Author hath ſufficiently vindicated; it cannot be amiſs,

Reader, to acquaint thee with his Judgment of ſome others, who pretend to write of *Ethiopia* and *Habeſſinia*. For upon whoſe Authority can we more reaſonably rely, than on his, who has had ſo many Advantages, with a diſcerning Sagacity, and profound Judgment, to enquire into the Affairs and Languages of that Nation? And how can we hope for a better Guide in Things of ſo great Obſcurity?

The firſt Fabulous Author he takes notice of, is *Jacobus Baratti*. This Man, being not at all affrighted at the Infamy of *Urreta*, directly treads his Footſteps; and under the Title of an *Itinerarium*, or, *An Account of his Travels*, has ventured lately to impoſe on the Learned, by his fictitious *Habeſſinian* Relations. This *Jacobus Baratti* was an *Italian*, who is therefore more to be blamed, becauſe, ſince *Godignus* and *Tellezius* their Hiſtories were extant, he endeavours to perplex and obſcure the Light of Truth. For he boldly affirms, *That the ancient Poſſeſſions of the King of the* Habeſſins *did equal the largeſt Empires in the World; that he hath very great Revenues; that* Congo *is a Bordering Kingdom to* Habeſſinia; *that the* Neguz, *or Emperour, is whiter than the reſt of that Nation, God himſelf, by this, having particularly diſtinguiſhed him from all others; that his Children, as ſoon as they have received their Names, are conveyed into a certain delicious Place, in the midſt of a large Mountain, called* Amark, *where a ſtately Caſtle is built, encompaſſed with the River* Borohr, (where note his Boldneſs, in feigning Proper Names) *and fortified with a ſtrong Wall: thither, as ſoon as the Father is dead, the principal Nobility go, and chuſe the eldeſt Son, unleſs he be uncapable of ſo great an Honour, to ſucceed in the Government; that there is there a very large Library, of above Ten thouſand Volumes, all Manuſcripts; a Seminary for the Education of the Sons of Noblemen; and a Biſhop, with ſeveral of the Inferiour Clergy, for the Inſtruction of Youth.* Theſe, and the like Traſh, he heard, and tranſcribed from *Urreta*, and other trifling Authors. But in that, he is guilty of the groſſeſt Falſhood, where he writes, *That he was permitted to go into the Library, and that there he ſaw ſome Books made of the* Ægyptian Papyrus, *and others of old Parchment, that did bear the Marks of Antiquity*; and, *that the Library-keeper told him, that the Books worn out by age, were wont to be tranſcribed*; *and for that intent, Twenty three Scribes were maintained at the Emperour's Charge.* This indeed ſeemed to him becoming, and neceſſary in a great Library; and therefore, by this Example, he would

would perſwade Kings and Princes to the ſame; as alſo by that which he relates concerning the King's Children, and the Children of the Principal Nobility, being educated by the Biſhop, (whom he affirms (with his Clergy) to have here a Palace.) And theſe are not all the Miſtakes this Man is guilty of; for he affirms, *That the Emperour ſpeaks the* Arabick, Perſian, *and* Hebrew *Languages, with many others*; *that he is skilful in Philoſophy and Aſtronomy*; *that he firſt puts on a Crown of Thorns, before he is Crowned with the Imperial Diadem*; *that the Captain of the Emperour's Guards is ſtiled* Diriharvah Neguz (which is an unknown Word.) He calls alſo many other Court-Officers by ſtrange and unknown Names. He reports, *That when the King goes abroad, all fall on their Knees*; *that the King is eminently devout, and his Courtiers imitate his Example*; and, *that one* (a new and almoſt unparallell'd Inſtance) *for the meer ſuſpicion of Adultery, was deprived of his Employment*; *that if there is no Heir-male, the eldeſt Daughter ſucceeds in the Government*; *that the Daughters are taught the* Hebrew *and* Arabick *Languages, Philoſophy, and the Principles of Chriſtian Religion, and many other things, which are vain and falſe.*

I have no particular knowledge of this Author; but he ſeems to me to be a Soldier, and wholly ignorant of all Ingenuous Arts, and not rightly to apprehend Military Affairs, to which he pretends: for he ſtrangely inveighs againſt Learned Princes, whom he imagines Swords and Guns to become better than Books. By this Diſcourſe of his, he ſeems to endeavour to inform the *Italian* Princes how their Children are to be educated, as if they did not ſufficiently underſtand, that the Arts of Peace, as well as War, are neceſſary for a good Prince; and that thoſe Governours of Kings Children are very injurious to the Commonweal, who inure them to nothing but Arms, Fights, and beſieging Cities; who propoſe no Examples to their Imitation, beſides *Alexander the Great*, and *Julius Cæſar*, thoſe two Depopulators of the World. For by this means they cauſe them to deſert Juſtice, and neglect the Good of the Commonweal, which they are to Govern, and to eſteem Military Glory, acquired with the effuſion of the Blood of ſo many Innocents, with the Ruine of ſo many Towns and Cities, their Chiefeſt Good. For it generally happens, that Men endeavour to excel in thoſe Arts which they learned in their Youth.

But

But the Folly of *Baratti* has drawn me from my Deſign. Thoſe things which I have mentioned out of his Book, may be read in the beginning of it. Yet concerning this Author, and his Tranſlators, I will add this one thing, *viz.* That it is a thing much to be wondred at, that this Fabulous Author ſhould be turned into ſo many various Languages; particularly, into *Engliſh*, by *G. D.* who, if he did believe himſelf, as to thoſe things to which he endeavours to perſwade others to aſſent, in his Dedication to the Worſhipful *Thomas Windham* Eſq; why did he omit his Name? He uſes a very weak Argument, *viz.* *That* Baratti *durſt not have publiſhed his Book in* Italy, *had not his Relation been true*: For which he feigns a Reaſon, *viz.* *That this Gentleman had committed an Act not agreeable to that Judgment that he uſes in his Writings, to publiſh things of a Kingdom ſo well known to moſt Parts of* Italy, *by reaſon of the continual Correſpondency that the Princes of it do entertain by their Factors with the Grand* Neguz *or Emperour.* Thus he accumulates one Trifle upon another. He adds, *That had not his Book found an univerſal Applauſe, it had not twice been honoured with the Preſs.* If therefore the Tranſlator thought the Buyers of Books might be deceived by reading the *Second Edition* in the Title Page, it is a wonder that he did not add the *Third Edition* to his Title.

The Authors Opinion of ſome other Writers.

Our Learned Author ſeems to have no better Opinion of the Relations of many others concerning *Habeſſinia*, who have writ their own, or the pretended Travels of other Men, than of *Baratti*'s Book. For, ſays he, moſt Itineraries are of a ſuſpected Authority, whereas the greateſt part of Travellers, without due conſideration, commit whatſoever they hear, either from a good or bad Interpreter, to their Table-books, which is afterwards promiſcuouſly divulged. Many of theſe Itineraries *Nicolaus Roth*, a Bookſeller of *Frankfurt*, collected without Judgment and Diſcretion, and *Anno* 1609. (leſt the Preſs ſhould be idle) printed them.

Lenhardus Rauchwolfe, *M. D.*

Amongſt theſe, is found the Travels of one *Lenhardus Rauchwolfe*, Doctor of Phyſick, who, *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. writes thus: *That it was told him, that the* Perſians, *the twelfth year before their coming into* Paleſtin, (which was about the Year 1562.) *made a League with* Presbyter John, *and agreed, That if he would ſend them aſſiſtance, the Chriſtian Religion ſhould be brought into* Perſia: *Whereupon a certain Patriarch with Prieſts being ſent, they converted above twenty Cities to the Chriſtian Faith.* *Philippus Nicolaus*

Nicolaus transcribed this egregious Fable into his Book *De Regno Christi*, as a true Story, expresly affirming, *That the pious* Ethiopians *did so manage things, that in the short space of twelve years, more than twenty Cities did embrace the Christian Religion, and that* Samarcanda *was the Metropolis of them.* From which alone the Vanity of this Relator is evident. The same Author, when he had heard, that the King of *Ethiopia Libna, Denghel*, at the time of his Coronation took to himself the Name of *David*, not onely writes in the same place strangely concerning all Kings, but also affirms, That the rest of the Kings of *Ethiopia* did assume to themselves the Name of *David*, to denote their Family.

Next, in his Learned *Commentary*, he gives us an Account of his Thoughts of the Voyage of *Johannes Montevilla* an *English-man*, Doctor, and Knight, in these Words. The Relation of this Mans Voyage scarce deserves a mention; it was writ *Anno* 1320. and is beyond all others most Fabulous. He represents *Presbyter John* (as he ignorantly calls him) to be an *Asiatick* Prince, near *Cataya*: so that indeed this Author seems to have imposed on the Simplicity and Credulity of his own Age. I had not mentioned this Writer, had not a notorious Fiction related by him come into my mind, concerning an Expedition of the *Danes* into *Catàya*, and *India*; and of one *John*, Son to a King of *Friesland*, (for the Holiness of his Life stiled *Priest*, or *Presbyter*): which groundless Story was transcribed from him by a later Writer, *who pretends to have read it in the Chronicles of those Countries.* The more than ordinary Folly of this Man doth also appear, in that he turneth *Magnum Tartarorum Chanum, Magnum Canem, The Great Dog, Ibid. Tit. l.* 2. and *l.* 9. in the beginning. Indeed he had for his Leader *Raphael Volaterranus*, in *Geograph. l.* 12. *p.* 130. *Tit. Scythia*, who writes thus, *At this time the King, whom they call* Magnum Canem, *doth govern* Cataya, *and the rest of* Scythia. The Reason why *Volaterranus* calls him *Magnum Canem*, may probably be in favour of the *Italians*, who cannot pronounce Χᾶν, *Chan, Han*, a Prince or King; therefore he has rendred it *Canem.*

Johannes Montevilla.

The next Writer he mentions is *Benjamin Tudelensis* the *Jew*, who writ an *Itinerarium* in *Rabbinical Hebrew.* This Author makes mention of *Habessinia*, in these Words: *The Land of* Cus, (*i. e.* Ethiopia) *called* Elhabesh). And a little before, *Phison*, (he means *Gihon*) which descends from the Land of *Cus*,

Benjamin Tudelensis *the* Jew.

(i. e. *Ethiopia*) over which there rules a King, which they call *Sultan Elhabeſh*, which is the true Name of the *Neguz*. This Author is indeed very Fabulous, and of ſmall Judgment, as we may eaſily diſcern from that Fiction of his concerning a Condenſed Sea. Nevertheleſs, he relates many things truly, which being either not well underſtood, or unknown, paſs for Fables. For example, he writes, *That the* Jews *did inhabit great Mountains, and lived according to their own Law.* This has paſſed for a Fiction with many; but it was true at that time, as we have ſhewed in our Hiſtory.

To diſcourſe of more *Itineraries* ſignifies not much. Out of thoſe who have given Relations of Voyages into *Paleſtin*, commonly called the *Holy Land*, and *Egypt*, as alſo *Arabia*, we generally find ſomething concerning our *Habeſſins*: But there is need of great Judgment in the Reader, to diſtinguiſh the Good from the Bad, and Truth from Falſhood. Theſe which follow, deſerve the moſt Eſteem and Credit.

Joh. Hugo Linſchot. *Joh. Hugo Linſchot*, from whom the *Hollanders* learn'd the Way and Manner of Sailing into *India*, *cap.* 4. mentions the *Habeſſins*.

Petrus della Valle.

Bernier.

Le Blanc. *Vincentius le Blanc*, who writ *Itinerarium Orientis*, his Travels over the Eaſt, and publiſhed it in *French*, *Anno* 1616. which has ſince been tranſlated into *Engliſh*, with this Title, *Travels into the Eaſt.*

Joh. Catovicus his *Itinerary.*

Matthæus Armenius. *Matthæus Armenius*, the firſt Ambaſſadour of the *Habeſſins* to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. We have the Story of this Perſon writ at large in *J. P. Maffeius* his Hiſtory of the *Indian* Affairs, and others who have writ the Life of King *Emanuel*; How he was firſt received by *Albuquerquius* Viceroy of *India*, and afterwards in *Portugal*; how after ſome time he was diſmiſſed, and carried back into *Habeſſinia*; and what he ſuffered from the *Portugueſes*, for his ſuſpected Embaſſie.

Tzaga-za-abus. After the mention of this *Matthæus Armenius*, it will not be amiſs to give this ſhort remark on *Tzaga-za-abus*, who alſo ſpent ſome time in *Portugal*. This Man has been repreſented by ſome to be a Biſhop; but it is a great miſtake, whereas he was onely an ignorant Monk. The eminent *Joh. Ulricus Wildius*, D. D. and my ſingular Friend, in his Diſputation of

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the *Ethiopick* Church, acquaints us, That almoſt all who have made any mention of this Church, and her belief, *have taken* whatever they have ſaid *from the Confeſſion of Faith of this* Tzaga-za-abus, *which he writ in the Court of* Portugal. And we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that a Perſon in his Circumſtances would wreſt the Articles of his Faith, as much as poſſible, to an Agreement with the *Roman* Doctrine, that by this means he might acquire the Favour of the Court, and the good Opinion of the Nation.

Franciſcus Alvarez.

Johannes Bermudes.

As to the Annual Relations of the *Jeſuits*, we muſt know, that it is the Cuſtom of the Fathers of that Society, every year, to ſend an Account of their Managements out of *India*, and other remote Countries of the Eaſt and Weſt, from which many things worthy our notice, concerning the State of thoſe Nations, come to our knowledge. But theſe being for the moſt part writ in the *Portugueſe* Tongue, and ſeldom or never turned into any other Language, have come late to the knowledge of other Learned Men in *Europe*. And it is for this very Reaſon that our Countrymen have been ſo long unacquainted with the Hiſtory of the *Habeſſins*. *The Annual Relations of the* Jeſuits.

Anno 1606. *Antonius Fernandez* writ an Epiſtle into *Europe*, from the Town *Gorgorra*, in *Dembea*, which *F. Nicolaus Godignus* made uſe of in confuting *Urreta*. *F. Ludovicus de Azevedo* writ another about a year before this, *viz.* the Eleventh of *July*, 1605. which is extant in Print, amongſt other Relations, *cap.* 13. publiſhed at *Lisbon*, *Anno* 1609. Many more things of this nature may be found amongſt the books reckoned up by *Antonius de Leon*. Antonius Fernandez.

How much Credit, in things of Fact, I give to *Balthazar Tellezius*, I ſhall here add nothing; whereas the reading my Hiſtory will ſufficiently manifeſt my Eſteem of that Author. Balthazar Tellezius.

Good Reader, I did deſign here to have put an end to this *Preface*, and no longer to have detained thy Curioſity from the following excellent Hiſtory, had not the Honourable Author communicated to me, in a ſheet of Paper, his Thoughts of theſe two following, and what Credit they deſerve in relation to *Habeſſinia*; which he commanded me to add to this *Preface*.

The firſt of theſe is *Johannes Michael Wanſleben*. *Anno* 1679.

there

there was transſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed, a ſmall Treatiſe, with this Title, *A brief Account of the Rebellions and Bloodſhed, occaſioned by the Antichriſtian Practices of the* Jeſuits, *and other Popiſh Emiſſaries, in the Empire of* Ethiopia: *Collected out of a Manuſcript Hiſtory, written in* Latin *by* Jo. Michael Wanſleben, *a Learned Papiſt.* There are many yet in *England* who knew this Man, before he deſerted the Reformed Religion, according to the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion; which he did, being conſcious to himſelf of great Impieties. He was indeed very diligent in collecting and writing Hiſtorical Relations; but (to give the true Character of the Man) he was one always of little Judgment, leſs Faith, and no Honeſty. He has onely added ſome very few things to the Hiſtory of *Peter Heyling* of *Lubeck*, and tranſcribed the reſt out of *Balthazar Tellezius*, in whom, as alſo in our Hiſtory, whatever he mentions, is related far more diſtinctly and clearly. However, we will remark That *Pag.* 4. he affirms, That the *Abeſſins* received the corrupt Opinion of *Eutyches*. But this is falſe; for they condemn the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, though they reject the Council of *Chalcedon*: About which, conſult the Enſuing Hiſtory, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. *num.* 23. *&c.* *Pag.* 5. he ſays, That Pope *Alexander* the Third was informed by one of his Phyſicians, named *Peter*, then newly returned out of *Ethiopia*, *That in the Year* 1177. *the* Abiſſin *Emperour expreſſed himſelf very well inclined to the Church of* Rome. But how could he certainly know, that thoſe things are meant of the Emperour of the *Habeſſins*, which in that Hiſtory are read of a certain King of *India*, called *Presbyter Johannes*? For this conſult the following Hiſtory, *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 9. *num.* 6. So that what he writes afterwards in the ſame Page, concerning the Church of St. *Stephen* at *Rome* upon this occaſion being granted to the *Habeſſins*, ſeems groundleſs. *Pag.* 6. he affirms, That the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Ethiopia* carried back with them Letters of Union from his Holineſs, as the Acts of that Council ſignifie, which was begun at *Ferrara*, continued at *Florence*, and ended at *Rome*. It is indeed certain, that Ambaſſadors were ſent from the *Habeſſins*; but that there was any Union made, or accepted by them, to the *Roman* Church, who can affirm? Indeed, no man, though of the meaneſt Judgment, can imagine, that an Affair of ſo great concernment ſhould have been managed ſo ſlightly, and perfected ſo idlely. Is it probable that the Ambaſſadors had

ſuch

ſuch Inſtructions, that without giving any Account to their Maſter, they could conclude a Matter of ſo great moment? Did the Biſhop of *Rome* ſo expoſe and degrade his Papal Dignity, as to diſpatch Letters of Union, without any Ratification or Approbation of the Acts by the King of the *Habeſſins*? Or if he had never ſo firmly believed, that all things done by the Ambaſſadours would have been ratified and confirmed, it is not eaſily credible, that he would have diſmiſſed them, without ſending along with them ſome *Legate* or *Nuncio*, who might ſee the Heretical King abjure his Hereſie, and by vertue of the Reconciliation order all things according to the Preſcriptions of the *Roman* Church. But I will not either weary my ſelf, or the Reader, with any thing more of this nature: The thing it ſelf manifeſts ſufficiently, that no ſuch thing as he here writes, ever entred into the Thoughts of the King of *Ethiopia*.

What he writes, *pag.* 7. concerning *John* the Second, King of *Portugal* s ſending ſome able Perſons, with his Letters Credential, (as to the moſt remarkable Provinces thereabouts) ſo eſpecially to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*, *&c.* is Fabulous. The Circumſtances of that Matter, and the Names of thoſe which were ſent, may be found more truly related in *Tellezius*, and our Hiſtory.

What he affirms, *pag.* 9. of thoſe Ambaſſadors *who left* Ethiopia, Anno 1529. *and arrived at* Lisbon *in* July *the ſame Year*; *of which one*, viz. Francis Alvarez, *came not to* Rome *till the twenty ninth of* January, Anno 1533. *at which time he delivered the* Ethiopian *Letters to the Pope*, *then* Clemens *the Seventh*, *&c.* ſeems ſcarce credible: For certainly the Buſineſs which this Ambaſſadour came to tranſact, cannot be ſuppoſed great and conſiderable, which admitted a delay of Seven Years.

As to what he tells us in the ſame Page, *That* Claudius, *the Son and Succeſſor of* David, *in the ſame Letters wherein he earneſtly requeſted aids from the King of* Portugal, *againſt one* Grain *King of* Adel, *&c. to render his Requeſt more ſucceſsful, craved an underſtanding Perſon, inveſted by the Pope with the Authority of a Patriarch, and ſome other able Divines, to be ſent under his Conduct into* Habeſſinia. And as to what he ſays, *pag.* 10. *That* Claudius (*having the aids he deſired*) *had changed his Mind in the Matter of Religion.* Both theſe are falſe and groundleſs: For *Claudius* never deſired a Patriarch from the Pope; and when *Johannes*

Bermudes, and after him *Andreas Oviedus*, came without his leave, and therefore were neglected by him, they never objected, That he had desired that some should be sent from the Pope in their Capacity, and had afterwards changed his Mind; which in reason they would have done, had these Stories of *Wansleben* been true. As to this, let the Relations of *Bermudes* and *Oviedus*, as also the History of *Tellezius*, and mine, which agrees with his, be consulted.

Page 17. he acknowledges *Tzaga-Christus*, that infamous Impostor, who came into *France* about the Year 1634. to be the Legitimate Son of *Jacob*, of whom we have discoursed in our History, *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. and in our Commentary shall have occasion to say more of him. *Ibid.* he tells us, *That the* Galla *were a People inhabiting between the Kingdom of* Bali *and the Sea, generally esteemed the Race of those* Jews *that were irrecoverably dispersed by* Salmanassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Titus, Adrian, *and* Severus, *&c.* He inconsiderately says, *they were generally esteemed the Race of those* Jews: For there is no Writer that asserts this vain Figment besides *Tellezius*, which we have in our History sufficiently shewn to be false.

Page 23. he relates the History of *Abba Gregorius* most unfaithfully, as any one may easily see in that Relation which is given of him in this *Preface*, taken out of our Commentary, and which we writ from his own Mouth. Neither did he ever profess himself a *Roman Catholick*, (as *Wansleben* intimates) but expresly affirmed, *That he did not believe many things which the* Roman *Church believed*; which Words a *Roman Catholick* would never utter. As to what he adds, *ibid. That* Gregorius *gave an Account of the whole Matter upon Oath, before* Don Pedro Lippa, *then Secretary to the College* de Propaganda Fide: I never heard any such thing, either from himself, or any of his Companions; neither doth it seem very probable: for (if I do not mistake) the Secretary of the College at that time was not *Don Pedro Lippa*, a *Spaniard*, but *Monsignor Ingoli*. *Ibid.* he writes what is contrary to his own and others knowledge, *viz. That* Ernestus *Duke of* Saxony *hearing of this* Habessin's *Arrival and Deposition, immediately sent an Express to invite him to his Court, that he might be informed in a more particular manner from his own mouth.* What Credit this Story deserves, may be judged from what has been already said concerning *Gregorius*. But he doth most notoriously falsifie, in affirming, *That his Highness being not fully satisfied*

satisfied with his Relation, sent Wansleben *into* Egypt, Anno 1663. *to procure the best Information he could, from such as came from* Ethiopia *to* Grand-Cairo. Indeed this unconstant and mutable Person was designed for *Ethiopia*, had not he most perfidiously violated his Promises and Engagements. For the satisfaction of any that may doubt of this, those Letters concerning his Return, by which he obliged himself to his Highness, can be produced. I shall not trouble my self to add more. From what has been already said, it sufficiently appears, that I have not injured *Wansleben*, in representing him as a Man of small Judgment, less Faith, and no Honesty. How much Pains I took, and how great Expences I was at about him, is not now convenient to repeat. I thrice pardoned him, notoriously offending, and as often begging Forgiveness; but alas! I washed an *Ethiopian*: I wish he did not appear Black before the Divine Tribunal. We will therefore end this our Censure of him, with that Relation which he gives us of *Peter Heyling* of *Lubec*, an eminent Person, and well known in *Ethiopia*, *pag.* 27. At the same time (after the Expulsion of the *Jesuits* Patriarch, and another was invited from *Alexandria*, who was *Arminius*, a *Coptite* of the Monastery of St. *Macarius*) there was in *Grand-Cairo* one *Peter Heyling*, a *Lutheran*, of *Lubec*, who, for his better security among the *Roman Catholicks*, passed under the Name of *Petrus Nolingus*, an *Hollander*. * This Man (as is credibly reported) with Ten others of the same Perswasion, emulating the Industry of the *Roman* Church, concurred in a joynt Resolution to disperse the Christian Doctrine, according to the Principles of the *Reformed Religion*, over the whole Earth: And that the Distribution of their Labours might be the better regulated, they cast the several Provinces of the World into a proportionable Division among them, each of them obliging himself to undertake that Part which should fall to him by Lot: In pursuance of which Agreement and Design, the forenamed *Peter* was advanced as far as *Cairo*, the Lot having destined *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* to his Charge. A Person (by my Author's own Confession) of eminent Prudence, well skilled in History, experienc'd in Physick, and in many Languages (as *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Arabick*, *Ethiopick*) inferiour to none.

* *An Enterprize worthy of the Protestant Religion.*

From *Cairo* he travelled seven days Journey to *Siut*, a City in the upper *Egypt*, but was constrained to return thence by the

the means of *Agat-Angelus*; wherefore to prevent the like Affront and Disappointment a second time, he determined to procure Licence to accompany *Arminius* the *Ethiopick Metropolitan* in his Journey towards his new Province: for which purpose, that he might ingratiate himself with the Chief of the *Copties*, (at least, as my * Author saith) he not onely professed their Religion, but privately suffered himself to be Circumcised, and by these means obtained Commendatory Letters from the *Alexandrian* Patriarch to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*, as well as Permission to joyn with *Arminius* in his Travels, who left *Cairo* in the Year 1637.

* *With those of his Religion 'tis no sin to belie an Heretick, to blast his Reputation.*

And yet the Coherence of my Author's Discourse seems to imply, that *Heyling*'s great Parts and Abilities recommended him to *Arminius*; who, that he might the better veil his own want of Learning under the Covert of such a Man's Company and Assistance, had a private Inducement to obtain the Patriarch's Grant for his Protection and Society, without having recourse to any such indirect Means or base Compliances as are above-specified.

Peter Heyling thus arrived in *Abissinia*, under the *Metropolitan*'s Favour, took up his abode in a Church, not far from Court: And as soon as he was setled in his new Mansion, he began to practice Physick, and profess the Instruction of Youth in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues, wherein he quickly became so famous, that even the Principal Nobility accounted it a singular Privilege to have their Sons educated under his Tuition; so that he might easily have amassed a very considerable Treasure, had he been disposed to accept or hoard up all the Gratuities that were offered him: But he either generously refused the Presents when tendered, or else (in case they were urgently pressed upon him) liberally distributed the over-plus among the Poor, after he had made himself a very moderate allowance out of it, for Food and Raiment. A sufficient Evidence (as my Author notes) of his great Abstinence or Self-denial.

These remarkable Qualities and Endowments could not long brook the concealment of a Private Life, but brake out into such an advantageous Report of him, as reached the Emperour's Ears, and won him so high an esteem at Court, that (after some trial had been made of his Capacity for Publick Employments) he was by large steps and degrees quickly raised

raiſed to the Principal Charge of the Empire; in which great Office and Truſt he acquitted himſelf with ſuch a prudent Addreſs, that his Great Maſter obliged him (with a courteous violence) to accept of a Revenue and Attendance equal to the Chief of the Nobility, with a moſt delightful Apartment in a Place (accounted the Paradiſe of *Ethiopia*) called *Genete Chriſtos*; yea, and deſigned him, as 'tis commonly and poſitively affirmed, his own Daughter in Marriage.

Peter Heyling finding himſelf ſo deeply intereſted in the Princes Favour and Affection, began to remind his Imperial Majeſty of all thoſe deplorable Troubles wherein his Dominions had been ſo often involved, (eſpecially in the Days of his Father) and ſo effectually repreſented to him, that thoſe dreadful Commorions, and all their pernicious Conſequences, were ſolely occaſioned by the *Jeſuits*, and *Popiſh Emiſſaries*, warning him of the ſudden approach of others on the ſame Errand, together with the firm Reſolution of their Party to perſiſt in the like Treaſonable Attempts; that at laſt his Remonſtrance prevailed with the *Ethiopian* Monarch and his Council to eſtabliſh a Penal Law againſt all * the People of *Europe*, (of what Country or Perſwaſion ſoever) forbidding any Perſon bearing the Native Diſtinction of a *White Complexion*, to enter his Territories, upon pain of Death.

In the mean time the *Roman* Fathers, *Anno* 1638. proceed on their Journey by *Suaquem*, (an Iſle of the *Red Sea*) thence to *Erquiquum*, and ſo on towards the *Abiſſin* Court, in the Company of certain Merchants who had liberty of Traffick in thoſe Parts. When they came to *Serave*, where *Barnagaſſi* the Viceroy of *Midrebahr* had his ordinary Reſidence, he no ſooner ſaw two White Faces among the Travellers, but he ſuſpected them to be ſuch as had by the late Imperial Edict been baniſhed from all the Coaſts of *Ethiopia*: Whereupon (being thereunto adviſed by the Chief *Abiſſin* Prieſt upon the Place) he ſearched their Sumpture, and therein found Chalices, Stones conſecrated for Altars, Sacerdotal Ornaments, and Maſs-books, with other things prepared for Eccleſiaſtical Uſes. Having thus diſcovered their Perſons and Deſigns, the Viceroy informs his Maſter of the Diſcovery he had made, and detains the Fathers in Chains until he ſhould receive further notice of his Majeſties Pleaſure; which was no ſooner ſignified, but they were brought to the Emperour's Preſence on

* *With regard (no doubt) to a certain old Prophecy, which our Learned Doctor* Ed. Caſtel *cites out of* Sandoval *thus,* Que gente blanca haziendo los labradores los han de echar fuera de Etiopia: *importing, That a White People, under ſome diſguiſe, ſhould diſpoſſeſs them of their Country.*

the Fifth of *Auguſt*, 1638. where, upon reading ſome Letters which they produced from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the Emperour was at firſt inclined to remand them (without any further mark of his diſpleaſure) to *Grand Cairo*, from whence they came: But being adviſed to the contrary by *Peter Heyling*, and his new Metropolitan *Arminius*, he changed his purpoſe, and required them (as a Teſt reſolved on in the late Conſult) to receive the Holy Communion after the manner preſcribed and practiſed in the *Abiſſin* Church; with a Promiſe, That (in caſe of their Conformity thereunto) they ſhould not onely have Licence to remain in his Dominions, but be capable of Places of Honour and Truſt therein: Provided alſo, that they bleſs *S. Dioſcorus*, and curſe Pope *Leo*; for, all the *Abiſſins* firmly believe, that in his time the *Roman* Church fell into *Hereſie*, and (to let my Author ſpeak in his own Language, *ex Sancta & Capite, qualem tunc fuiſſe fatentur, eam factam, dicunt, Caudam & Cathedram Diaboli*) from being Holy and the Head, (as they then owned her) ſhe became, they ſay, the Tail, and the Chair of the Devil.

This Propoſal being utterly rejected by the Friers, his Imperial Majeſty (at the urgent Motion of his Mother, the Clergy, and the Commons, whoſe joynt Vogue accuſed him of Diſſimulation, in caſe he put not theſe *Franks* to death according to his own Decree) paſt Sentence againſt them; which was ſpeedily executed, they being hanged with thoſe very Ropes which themſelves had made uſe of for their Girdles, and in that poſture were intombed by the vaſt number of Stones which the Multitude of *Abiſſin* Zealots threw at them; the Heap ſtill remaining a Monument as well of the *Roman* Fathers Reſolution, as of *Ethiopian* Severity.

Peter Heyling in proceſs of time (being grown very Rich and Powerful) began to make publick expreſſion of his diſlike of divers *Abiſſin* Cuſtoms, decrying eſpecially their Adoration of Saints, and of the Virgin *Mary* her ſelf, as repugnant to True Religion and the Holy Scriptures; having on the ſame account privately forbidden his Scholars to uſe their ordinary Forms of Prayer directed to her. This begat him much Ill-will and great Oppoſition among the Nobles; for all the *Abiſſins* have a very great Reverence for the Holy Virgin. To expreſs their diſguſt therefore, they firſt withdrew their Sons from his Tuition; and after that, made uſe of their beſt Arguments

guments and Intereſt with the Emperour, not onely to remove him from Court, but out of his Dominions alſo: who hereupon having gently admoniſhed him (at leaſt to be ſilent, and connive at their Cuſtoms, if he could not conform to them) without effect, orders him to quit his Territories for a time, as the beſt Expedient to avoid the dangerous Efforts of Popular Fury.

Thus this Great Man voluntarily relinquiſhed *Ethiopia*, together with the high Place and Intereſt he held there, after he had been (as it were) naturallized by Twelve Years Reſidence in that Country; being accompanied by his uſual Retinue, and all the Wealth he had gotten, which was ſent along with him as a Mark of the juſt Eſteem and Favour the Emperour ever had for him. But having advanced on his way, thus attended, as far as the Iſle *Suaquem*, he fell into the hands of a *Turkiſh Paſha*, who (to ſatisfie his Avarice) deprived him at once of his Life and Riches.

Concerning the Learning and Integrity of this Man, and how kindly he was entertained, and highly eſteemed by the King, *Gregorius* gave me the ſame Account, onely adding this, That his Countrymen living at *Rome* through Envy would not endure that he ſhould mention him to any of theſe Northern Parts, leſt others ſhould be encouraged by his Example to come into the Kingdom; for they neither knew what Countryman he was, nor from whence he came. But it happened as I was one Evening walking with *Gregorius*, he asked me, *Whether* Alleman *and* German *were one and the ſame?* Which, when I replied they were, he wondred. The next Day he again enquired the Reaſon of theſe two Names, of which I gave him the Account; and taking notice of his Admiration a ſecond time, I asked him the reaſon of it; who (having firſt obliged me to ſecreſie) told me what I have related in my Hiſtory of *Peter Heyling*. Concerning this Man's Death, there are doubtful and uncertain Reports: As to the reſt which *Wanſleben* relates of him, I ſhall not engage to determine the Truth of, but leave it undecided.

This is what I was permitted, by the Honourable and Learned Author, to collect out of his *Commentary*; which kindly accept, till the whole be publiſhed.

Good Reader, Before I end this *Preface*, I muſt acquaint thee with how much ſecurity thou maiſt depend on the Truth of this

this following Hiſtory, and what Credit it muſt deſerve from all Men, conſidering what certain Methods our Honourable and moſt Judicious Author has uſed to prevent Errour, both in himſelf, and Readers. The Names of all thoſe Authors which he has cited, are found prefixed to his Book. He aſſures thee, he has writ nothing whoſe Author he is not able to name; and if any ſhould doubt of any Place, or ſuſpect him in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, as profeſſing a different Religion from them, he deſires them to conſult his Authors, and weigh his Reaſons, leſt without Reaſon, out of meer Prejudice, they may ſuſpect his Writings. He would have thoſe of the *Roman* Communion treat him with the ſame Juſtice that he doth *Tellezius*, even concerning the Religion of the *Habeſſins*, notwithſtanding his being obliged both by his Religion and Order, being a *Jeſuit*, to obey the Biſhop of *Rome*. For our moſt Judicious Author excellently diſtinguiſhes between his Propagating the Doctrines of the Church of which he profeſſes himſelf, and defending them, and falſifying Things of Fact, or reporting other Mens Opinions unfaithfully; which two laſt are highly blameable. I ſhall add one Argument more to evince the Credit of this Hiſtory, which is this. Some very few days ſince, I have been certainly informed, that this *Ethiopick* Hiſtory has ſo much obtained in *France*, and gained ſo conſiderable an Eſteem amongſt the Ingenuous, Inquiſitive, and Learned of that Nation, that though our excellent Author be different from the *Gallican* Church in the Matter of Religion, yet ſo much are they convinced of his generous Fidelity, that they have epitomized or contracted his Hiſtory, and dedicated it to himſelf: Which none can believe would have been done, had not it been believed to have excelled all Writings of the ſame Kind and Subject.

THE

J. LUDOLPHUS
TO THE
Courteous Reader.

AT length I present you with my *Ethiopic* Historie, long-promis'd, long expected by my friends. Nor will this delay be wonder'd at by those that consider how I am ty'd to public duty and employment, utterly dissonant from these sort of Studies. Beside which, there were many other Reasons. For I had collected indeed the Body of the matter from the Writings and Discourses of *Gregory* the *Habessinian*, but the Circumstances of time and place, and the names of persons were yet wanting. So that there was Timber and Bricks for the Building, but only Lime and Cement was wanting. Moreover after so many Fables had been Printed upon this subject, I thought it would not be so prudently done to utter more novelty upon the credit of one single person; lest a new truth might be lookt upon as a new Tale. At length having got into my hands *Balthazer Tellez*, from whom as well to supply what I wanted, as also to confirm what might seem to be doubtfull, yet then likewise I wanted Leisure. Which when the most Serene *Saxo-Gotan* Dukes had indulg'd me, I Translated my family to *Frankfort* upon the *Main*, to the end that I might have the benefit of several famous Libraries in that Noble City, and the opportunity of a Learned Conversation, and by that means accomplish my intended work, which by Gods Assistance I did in six weeks.

After this, when all was ready for the Press, there still wanted what was necessary to forward the Publishing of this work. A proper *Amanuensis* to transcribe the whole matter, and to attend upon the Correction of the Impression; which my occasions would not permit me to do; and then in the next place such Forraign Characters as this work requir'd. which Impediments were also at last remov'd. For there was a certain Young Gentleman recommended to me, eminent for his Learning and integritie, by name *John Henry*, *Majus*, a Student in Theology, and the Oriental Tongues. Who being well skill'd in the Hebrew Language, and the Dialect of the Rabbins, by my help easily made himself Master of the *Ethiopic*, and so fitted himself for the imployment I design'd Him. He therefore by my directions made the heads of the Chapters, the Sections, the Index, and Translated the *Ethiopic* into Latin, assisted the work and put it forward, taking upon him the whole Correction of it: For which reason I can recommend his deserts the more justly to all good and learned Men.

The Printing part was undertaken by *Balthasar Christopher Wustius*, as well for that he was well known among Forainers, as because he had a Printing House furnished with all sorts of Letters for Foraign Languages. He also caused the *Ethiopic* and *Amharic* Characters to be engrav'd in Copper by the famous *John Adolphus Schmide*, and afterwards to be cast for farther use. But these could not be brought to perfection, so soon

as

as the Compositers requir'd, and therefore there was a necessitie of mixing some old and less elegant, with the new and neater Characters.

As to the Work it self, I have said enough in the Proem: No man understandeth the warts and defects better than my self. Therfore I resolv'd to deferr the Publishing till newer and fuller relations return'd out of *Ethiopia*; or that I might receive them from the bordering Regions, as being furnished for that purpose with very great and most generous Recommendations, till I had brought my design to a full and elaborate perfection. But many Illustrious men, and my most honour'd friends, interceded with me, telling me, *That never any thing came forth perfect at first in all its parts: And that therefore this History was no longer to be conceal'd from the Christian and Learned World, which it concerned to know these things: For that if any thing should fall out hereafter worthy of remark, it might be put into an Appendix, or added to a new Edition.* Which makes me hope for pardon from the more Candid Reader, if his desire or expectation be not satisfied in all particulars. For I relate not altogether things beheld with my own eyes, but what I have either read my self or heard from others, yet congruous to Truth and well cohering between themselves. If I have not reach'd the sence of my Authors, I will amend upon admonition; or else return my thanks and satisfaction to the admonisher. That I should please all men, a thing which never mortal yet attained, none in prudence can exact from me; nor dare I hope to have done it. However I propose to my self to injure no man, but every where to study moderation. So they who take offence, ought to be offended with my Authors not with me. There are some perhaps who believe I might have spoken more in matter of Religion, others that I have said too much, certainly I had rather I could have omitted all; so ungratefull to me are the Altercations of Christians among themselves in matters of Religion, chiefly where the Decisions tend to Force and Arms. For they who think mutual Love and Charity is only due to men of their own sect, certainly wander much from the scope of Christian perfection, according to the precepts of Christ and his Apostles.

I have not aim'd at my own advantage, nor my own increase of Reputation, hard to be acquir'd, now the world is so fertile in soaring Genius's, I have only endeavoured to be in some measure profitable to the Commonwealth of Christianity and Learning, out of a peculiar kindness, to that, for ought we know, most ancient Nation of the *Habessines*: I confess I have frequently bewail'd their misfortune for this, that the enmitie ran so high between them and the Portugueses, that for their sakes all the other Europeans are suspected to that Nation, and not permitted to have any commerce among them. But it has afforded me much more matter of grief, that there should be such and so great Animosity nmong the Western Christians, that as things stand, there is no Counsell or help to be afforded for the ease and restitution of the Eastern Church, or for the suppression of those Barbarous *Idolaters*.

The

The Heads of the several Chapters in the following *HISTORY*.

Book I.

Of the Nature of the Country and Inhabitants.

The Proem contains the Chief Writers of the Habessine *Affairs, which the Author follows or contradicts: where he takes an occasion to give an account of* Gregory *the* Habessinian, *whom* Ernestus *Duke of* Saxony *sent for to his Court at* Gota *together with the Argument and Method of the whole Treatise.*

Chap. I. *Of the various Names of the* Habessines, *and the Original of the Nation from* Arabia *the Happy.*

Chap. II. *Of the true Situation and Bounds of* Habessinia, *and the Kingdoms and Regions bordering on every side upon it.*

Chap. III. *Of the Division of* Habessinia *into several Kingdoms and Regions, and what is at this day under the Dominions of the* Negus.

Chap. IV. *Of the vulgar Chorographical Table of the Country, and the Authors new one; with the Authors advice, in reference to a Universal* Geographical Alphabet.

Chap. V. *Of the temper and nature of the Air and Soyl: of the three not four Seasons of the Year; the stupendious Winds, and other Meteors.*

Chap. VI. *Of the high Mountains of* Habessinia, *and their Rocks of a most Miraculous Form; their advantages and conveniencie: more especially, of the Rocks of* Amhara, Geshen, *and* Ambasel.

Chap. VII. *Of their Metals and Minerals: more especially, their Salt and Stibium.*

Chap. VIII. *Of the Rivers of* Habessinia; *more especially* Nile, *its Fountains and Course; that* Niger *is a Channel of* Nile: *whether the Course of the River may be altered or turned another way, to prevent its overflowing of* Ægypt; *as also of the Lake* Tzana.

Chap. IX. *Of the Fertility of the Soyl in general, double, and threefold Harvest; Of the Vegitables and Plants: Of the* Psylli, *proving their Art of relieving the Poyson'd to be artificial not natural.*

Chap. X. *Of the Fourfooted Beasts; the* Bull Elephants, *the* Unicorn, *&c.*

Chap.

The Contents.

Chap. XI. *Of Amphibious Creatures*; *the* River Horſe, *the* Water-Lizard *and the* Torpedo.
Chap. XII. *Of Birds*, *the* Caſawaw *and* Pipi, *their tame* Geeſe, *and Feeders.*
Chap. XIII. *Of* Serpents *and Inſects*; *the* Boa, Salamander, Hydra, Cherſydra, Locuſts *and* Ants.
Chap. XIV. *Of the Nature and Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants of the* Jews *and other Nations in* Ethiopia.
Chap. XV. *Of the Languages us'd in* Ethiopia; *the* Amharic, *and* Gallanic *Dialects.*
Chap. XVI. *Of the bordering Nations; more eſpecially, of the* Gallans, *and the manners and cuſtoms of the Kingdom of* Zender *and their King who reſembles an* Ape.

Book II.

Of their Political Government.

Chap. I. *Of the Kings of the* Habeſſines, *and their various Titles, Names, and Atchievments, both true and fictitious: Of the Name of* Presbyter John, *the Stile of their Letters: The Queens, and the Titles of the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood.*
Chap. II. *Of the Catalogues of the ancient Kings of the* Habeſſines, *for the moſt part Fictitious. Of the Royal Families, their Antiquity, and firſt of the* Ethnic Family.
Chap. III. *Of the* Salomonean Family, *deſcended from* Menihelec, *Son to* Solomon *by the Queen of* Sheba; *whoſe Parentage and Place of Nativity where ſhe Rul'd, is diſcours'd.*
Chap. IV. *Of* Menihelec, *the Son of* Makeda, *and his Poſterity. Of* Candace. *Of* Abreha *and* Atsbeha *brothers; and of* Caleb, *who Subverted the Kingdom of the* Homerites.
Chap. V. *Of the* Zagean *Family, and the Kings that ſprung from that Line; more eſpecially of* Lalibala.
Chap. VI. *Of the Reſtauration of the* Salomonian Family, *and the Succeſſion from thence,* David *and* Claudius, *&c. in whoſe Reign the Jeſuits firſt entred* Habeſſinia.
Chap. VII. *Of the Kings of this Centurie, till the preſent time. Of the Counterfeit* Jacob, *and the Impoſtor* Tzaga-Chriſtos *in* France. *A genealogical Table of the* Habeſſinian *Kings.*
Chap. VIII. *Of the Royal Succeſſion; and Impriſonment of all the Kings Sons but the Eldeſt in the Rock* Geſhen.

Chap.

Chap. IX. *Of the Kings Prerogative in Civils and Spirituals.*
Chap. X. *Of the Puissance of the Kings of* Habessinia, *and how the Power of the* Gallans *might be Ecclips'd; as also, of the Royal Revenues.*
Chap. XI. *Of the Royal City of* Axuma: *and the Inauguration of their Kings.*
Chap. XII. *Of the Kings Court, his Table, and manner of Feeding: the Custom of receiving Embassadours; and of the Grand Court Employments.*
Chap. XIII. *Of the Royal Camp, which may be compar'd to a Royal City.*
Chap. XIV. *Of the Militarie Discipline of the* Habessines.
Chap. XV. *Of the Wars of the former Century; more especially, the Fatal* Adelan *War, and how they were relieved by the* Portugals.
Chap. XVI. *Of their Leagues and Embassies to the* Portugheses *and the* Pope; *and the King of* Portugal's *reciprocal Embassies to them.*
Chap. XVII. *Of the Viceroys, Governours, and Rulers of* Provinces, *and their various Titles.*
Chap. XVIII. *Of the Tributaries to the King of* Ethiopia, *and the manner of presenting Petitions and Complements to the King.*
Chap. XIX. *Of their Courts of Judicature, and Law Proceedings, their Appeals and Punishments.*

Book III.

Chap. I. *Of the Ancient Religion of the* Habessines, *and* Tzagazaab's *idle Confession of Faith; their* Judaic *Rites; their Circumcision, abstinence from Swines Flesh, and observing the Sabbath,* &c.
Chap. II. *Of the Conversion of the* Habessines *to the Christian Faith.* Cedrenus *and* Callistus *Confuted.*
Chap. III. *Of the advancement of Christianity by the assistance of Nine Holy Men. Of the Portentous Miracles of their Saints: Their rigid Monastical Life: of* Tecla Haimanot *and* Eustathius, *and the Orders and Institutions of their* Monks.
Chap. IV. *Of the* Holy Book *among the* Habessines, *the Translation of the Scripture into their Language, their Division of the* Bible. *Their Councils, and Epitomie of the* Habessine *Religion: the Book of* Enoch, *and their Magical Prayers.*
Chap. V. *Of the present Religion of the* Habessines, *and the Erro-*

Errours imputed to them by the Fathers: *what they Believe concerning the* Trinity, *the* Communion, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, *the* Immortality of the Soul, Angels, *&c.*

Chap. VI. *Of the Modern Rites and Ceremonies of the* Ethiopic *Church.*

Chap. VII. *Of their Eccleſiaſtical Government.*

Chap. VIII. *Of the ſeparation of the* Habeſſines *from the* Greek *Church.*

Chap. IX. *Of their firſt Quarrels with the* Jeſuits.

Chap. X. *Of* Suſneus's *Submiſſion to the* Pope, *and the Tumults, and Rebellions that aroſe thereupon.*

Chap. XI. *Of the Arrival of a Patriarch from* Rome, *and the Progreſs of the* Roman *Religion during the Reign of* Suſneus.

Chap. XII. *Of the decreaſe of the* Jeſuits *Power, and their fall, the Reſtoration of the* Alexandrian *Religion, and the cauſes of ſo great an Alteration.*

Chap. XIII. *Of the Expulſion of the* Patriarch.

Chap. XIV. *What happen'd after the Expulſion.*

Book IV.

Of their private Affairs.

Chap. I. *Of the* Ethiopian *Letters, and manner of Reading.*

Chap. II. *Of their Books and Learning; their Lawyers and Phyſitians: certain of their Opinions in Philoſophy: their Poetry.*

Chap. III. *Of the Appellative Names of Men uſed by the* Habeſſines.

Chap. IV. *Of their Domeſtick Oeconomie, Matrimy, Polygamie, Dyet, Habitations, and Burials.*

Chap. V. *Of their Mechanic Arts, and Trades.*

Chap. VI. *Of their manner of Travelling, and the ſeveral ways into* Ethiopia.

Chap. VII. *Of their Merchandize, and the Commodities of the Country.*

Of

INSIGNIA REGIS REGUM ÆTHIOPIÆ
LEO DE TRIBU IUDA
Sinus Arabici
Maris Erythræi alias Rubri Pars
Habessinis Galla
Jobi Ludolfi
Habessinia seu Abassia
Presbyteri Johannis Regio
perperam dicta
ad exemplum Tab. Chorographicæ
P. Balth. Tellezii
quanta fieri potuit diligentia formata
correctis multis nominibus
male scriptis;
plurimis locis passim insertis
ex Gregorii Habessi
fidâ relatione,
illorum situ non ubiq; æque certo.
Anno Christi MDCLXXXIII.
Christianus Ludolfius J. Filius delineavit ex autographo Parentis.
Notarum explicatio.
Monasterium
Sedes Pp. Societatis Residentiam vocant.
Metropolis s. sedes Proregis
G. Gentis nomen
I. Insula
M. Mons vel Montes
P. Provincia Regio Tractus
R. Regnum
Pronciatio.
Nubia
Abyssinia
Ethiopes Nomades
Fusilanus Fungi
Tzagadé
Walkait
Tigre
Dancali
Adel
Ifat
Gallani
Bertuma Gallæ
Lacus Zaire
Lacus Zaflan
Lacus Dambea
Nilus
Mare Rubrum

THE HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA: OR THE KINGDOM *of the* ABESSINES.

I Am now about to write the History of the *Abessines*; concerning whom, there have been many large, but few true Relations. For these People having translated themselves from the Maritime Regions of the *Arabian Gulf*, into the more upland Parts of *Africa*, by reason their Commerce with Foreigners has been very inconsiderable, have been known to very few of the *Europeans*. Besides that the Name of *Ethiopians*, which they assume to themselves, is common to so many Nations, that it has render'd their History very ambiguous; for that many things generally spoken of the *Ethiopians*, were more particularly attributed to the *Abessines*. Neither were they wanting to their own honour, while they appropriated to themselves whatever was said either in Scripture or elsewhere to their advantage.

Others there are, who to waste their idle hours, and designing some fabulous Inventions, or to represent the Platform of some Imaginary Common-Wealth, have chosen *Ethiopia* for the Subject of their Discourse. Believing they could not more pleasantly Romance, or more safely license

themſelves to faſten Improbabilities upon any other Countrey. Among the reſt, *Ludovicus Ureta*, a Monk of *Valentia*, and a moſt notorious Trifler, has deſervedly merited the Laſh of *Nicholas Godignus*. In the ſame Form is *Jacobo Barrati*, an *Italian* of a newer date, but nothing better than the other; either a Tranſcriber, or caſual picker up of feigned Relations, who in his *Itinerarie* affirms many things concerning the *Abeſſines*, not as they really were, but rather as he fancied they were, or deſired they ſhould be. I omit to mention others, who in the Relation of their Travels, put down Reports and Hear-ſays for certain, and experienced Truths; and attribute the manners and diſpoſitions of one or two private Perſons to the whole Nation. Which makes me the more careful to leave ſomething more undoubted to Poſterity.

The firſt knowledge of the *Abeſſine* Emperor was diſcovered to us by the *Portugals* in the beginning of the preceding Age; but erroneous and very confuſed, in reference to the miſunderſtood Denomination of the Word *Preſter John*: ſuch as they had learn'd it from the two Ignorant *Habeſſine* Ambaſſadors, *Mattheus* an *Armenian* Merchant, and *Tzagazaabus*, Preſident of the inconſiderable Territory of *Bugna*. *Franciſcus Alvarezius*, and *John Bermudes* affords a clearer Light; as having ſpent ſome time in *Ethiopia*. However you muſt take care to prefer what they ſaw, before what they deliver by report.

Laſtly, we have found many things of uncontradicted Truth, which have been Publiſhed in the Relations and Epiſtles of the *Jeſuits*. For they by their ſingular Care and Vigilancy over that Kingdom, have engaged it to themſelves and the See of *Rome*, there is hardly any thing that concerns the *Abeſſine* Nation, that remains concealed and hidden from them. Having therefore gotten into my hands, the *Ethiopian* Hiſtory of *Balthazar Tellezius*, Provincial of *Portugal*, written in the *Portugal* Language in a pleaſant and florid Stile, and finding it to be collected out of the Acts and Inſtructions of the Fathers of the Society; with a Commentary of *Emanuel Almeyda*, written in *Ethiopia*, and a certain Manuſcript Hiſtory of *Alphonſus Mendoza*, the *Latin Ethiopian* Patriarch, and atteſted by *Jerome Lupus*, a ſworn Witneſs, I made no queſtion of accompliſhing the Work I had taken in hand; more eſpecially obſerving that all things

exactly

exactly agreed with what *Gregory* the *Abessine*, a Native of *Mecana Selace*, a City in the Kingdom of *Amhara*, had at large related to me. Onely that *Tellezius* takes occasion every where to plead for the *Roman* Religion, and his own Society, to extol the Acts and Proceedings of the Fathers; while on the other side he is very sharp upon the *Abessines*, and very severely censures their Ceremonies, yet with that Candor and Sincerity, that he frequently Commends the good Conditions and Ingenuity of the People.

As for my Self, no difference in Religion, shall make me less Studious of Truth, or less Humane or Charitable towards all sorts of Christians whatsoever. Neither shall any thing of Favour or Hatred either towards the Fathers of the Society, or the *Abessines* in particular, carry me so far to Partiality, but that I shall communicate whatever I heard from others, faithfully and religiously. However least I may be thought to conceal from whence I gathered these my Informations, I have not only plac'd the Names of my Friends in the Margin of the Book, or in the Notes underneath, but also recited their own words in a Commentary which I am preparing to annex to my Work; with Instructions either intire or contracted: And the Reasons that constrain me to differ from others in Opinion. Nor do I bind my self to be any further believed; so that if any thing be understood amiss by my Authors, or not rightly placed, I leave it to be amended by Posterity; and those things to be supplyed which I have omitted, either as uncertain, or altogether unknown.

As to the Person of *Gregory*, upon whose Credit I Relate those *Ethiopic* Affairs and Transactions scarce to be found in any other Authors, and whom I shall frequently mention, more shall be said in our Commentary. Nevertheless I shall not conceal thus much from the Reader, That he, after a Friendship contracted with me at *Rome*, out of a desire to understand the Affairs of *Europe*, and to learn the *Latin* Tongue, came into *Germany* to give me a Visit. Soon after, being sent for to *Gota*, by the Most Serene Prince, Duke of *Saxony*, (of whose Piety and Affection to the Common-weal of Christianity, I have not now time to speak sufficiently) he was by so great a Judgment, after several Discourses with him, found to be a Person of great gravity, and high credit. For being somewhat above fifty years of

Age, and then an Exile, for that contrary to the King's Command, he had followed the Fathers of the Society into *India*, and conſequently exerciſed in Misfortune, he had laid aſide all *Levity* and *Oſtentation*, the Vices of *Fortunate Youth*. So that although in truth, I was ſufficiently able, by vertue of his Inſtructions, and the knowledge which I obtained from him of the *Ethiopic* Language, to have out-done all thoſe that have gone before me, yet I was unwilling to refell the Errors of others upon the Credit of one ſingle Perſon, till I had more Authorities to ſupport me.

Nor did I therefore underake this difficult Task, only to conſume my leiſure hours in confuting the Errors, or muſtering up the different Opinions of Authors, without any proſpect of *Publick-Benefit*. The Hiſtory it ſelf of this Nation deſerves the Labour of an Accurate Pen. For whether you conſider the Temper of the Clime, or the Condition of the Soyl, you ſhall hardly find in any other Part of the World more frequent Miracles of Nature.

The Countrey is ſituated between the *Tropic of Cancer*, and the *Equinoctial Line*, and enjoys a wonderful variety of Air: The Champion Levels feel the Heat, the Hilly Parts are no leſs ſubject to Cold. For this reaſon, the Thunders are moſt dreadful, and frequent Tempeſts terrifie both Man and Beaſts. Their Prodigious Mountains over-look the Clouds themſelves. Neither *Olympus* nor *Athos*, here accounted Wonders; nor *Atlas* it ſelf, which the Ancients fancied to be the Support of Heaven, are to be compared with them. Their Rocks of various Shapes and Figures, ſo amazingly ſteep as not to be aſcended, yet inhabited. Their ſurrounded Valleys rugged, and repreſenting *Abyſſes* for profundity. Metals they alſo have; but chiefly Gold, did they know how to find and dig it forth. Their dryeſt places in Winter are overflowed in Summer: For thoſe Advantages which the Rains afford the Fields in other places, the Rivers ſupply in *Ethiopia*. Among thoſe Rivers, *Nilus* for vaſtneſs and fame, far exceeds all the Rivers of the whole World: Whoſe Fountains ſo diligently ſought by the Ancients are not only here found, but it alſo now appears, that the River *Niger* is no more than its left Channel. Nor do all the Rivers of *Habaſſia*, as in other Places, empty themſelves into the Sea, but are ſome of them ſuckt up in the Sand; ſo that it is more difficult to find the Mouths of thoſe, than

than the Sources of other Streams. Plants they have of admirable Vertue; and Beasts of all sorts, many of which are unknown to us. The largest also both of Foul and four-footed Beasts are here to be found. The celebrated Unicorn, so curiously sought for in all other Corners of the World, was first seen here. Cattel without number, much larger than ours, feed in the vast Woods, affording Pasture sufficient as well for the Wild as Tame. Nor is the variety of the Nations and People less to be admired; so strangely differing in Language, Customs, and Ceremonies, that it may be thought some distinct Part of the World, rather than a particular Kingdom.

However all *Abessinia* Obeys one King, who by reason of certain Princes that are subject to him, calls himself *Negusa nagast zait joperia*, King of the Kings of *Ethiopia*. He derives his Descent from *Solomon* King of the *Israelites*, by an ambitious, tho dubious Claim; defending the long series of his Family, whether true or false, with the force of Antiquity. However it be, this is certain, That the Monarchy of the *Abessines*, and the Royal Line, are no less Ancient than any among the *Europeans*. And for their Power, they were formerly more Potent than any other of the *African* Kings: But their Wars in the preceding Age with the *Adelenses*, has brought them very low. Afterwards they were so debilitated by the Fury of the *Gallani*, that *Abessinia* is scarce to be found in *Habessinia* it self, if you compare it with what it was in the times of *Alvarezius*.

But that which deserves the greatest admiration is the antiquity of the Christian Religion, which first began under S. *Athanasius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, at what time *Frumentius* Preached among them; the Opinions and Ceremonies of which Church they still retain. So that many Primitive Rites in other Places obsolete, are here still in Use. But that deplorable Schism which arose in the Council of *Calcedon*, for which they alledge other Causes than our Writers do, withdrew the *Abessines* all together from the *Catholick* Church, at that time Flourishing; while they followed the Patriarch of the *Jacobites*, and rejected the Patriarch of the *Melchites*. Yet all this while for so many Ages they have suffered no considerable Change in their Divine Worship till the beginning of this last Century, at what time being split into Divisions by the Artifices of the *Jesuits*, they have been cruelly shaken with

with Civil Diſcord and Bloody Wars; ſome Adhering to the *Romiſh*, other the *Alexandrian* Religion.

Of which and other things it is our Deſign to treat more fully in this our Hiſtory; and ſo to handle the matter, as to diſcourſe in the Firſt Book, Of Natural Things; as the Situation and Names of the ſeveral Counties, the Temper of the Climate, the Condition of the Soyl, the ſeveral Cuſtoms and Languages of the Nations and Inhabitants. In the Second Book, Of the Political Government, the Succeſſion of their Kings, their Laws, their Acts of War, the Revenue of the Kingdom, and the like. In the Third, Of their Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, the beginning of the Chriſtian Religion, and its Advance in thoſe Countries, their Differences with the *Greek* and *Latin* Church. And Laſtly, in the Fourth Book, Of their Domeſtick Concerns, and Private OEconomy.

An ETHIOPIC ALPHABET

Divided into seven Orders according to the seven sounds of their vowells.

Hoi	ሀ	*ha*	ሁ	*hu*	ሂ	*hi*	ሃ	*ha*	ሄ	*he*	ህ	*he*	ሆ	*ho*	ሀ
Lawi	ለ	*la*	ሉ	*lu*	ሊ	*li*	ላ	*la*	ሌ	*le*	ል	*le*	ሎ	*lo*	ለ
Haut	ሐ	*ha*	ሑ	*hu*	ሒ	*hi*	ሓ	*ha*	ሔ	*he*	ሕ	*he*	ሖ	*ho*	ሐ
Mai	መ	*ma*	ሙ	*mu*	ሚ	*mi*	ማ	*ma*	ሜ	*me*	ም	*me*	ሞ	*mo*	መ
Saut	ሠ	*sa*	ሡ	*su*	ሢ	*si*	ሣ	*sa*	ሤ	*se*	ሥ	*se*	ሦ	*so*	ሠ
Rees	ረ	*ra*	ሩ	*ru*	ሪ	*ri*	ራ	*ra*	ሬ	*re*	ር	*re*	ሮ	*ro*	ረ
Sat	ሰ	*sa*	ሱ	*su*	ሲ	*si*	ሳ	*sa*	ሴ	*se*	ስ	*se*	ሶ	*so*	ሰ
Kaf	ቀ	*ka*	ቁ	*ku*	ቂ	*ki*	ቃ	*ka*	ቄ	*ke*	ቅ	*ke*	ቆ	*ko*	ቀ
Bet	በ	*ba*	ቡ	*bu*	ቢ	*bi*	ባ	*ba*	ቤ	*be*	ብ	*be*	ቦ	*bo*	በ
Tawi	ተ	*ta*	ቱ	*tu*	ቲ	*ti*	ታ	*ta*	ቴ	*te*	ት	*te*	ቶ	*to*	ተ
Harm	ኀ	*ha*	ኁ	*hu*	ኂ	*hi*	ኃ	*ha*	ኄ	*he*	ኅ	*he*	ኆ	*ho*	ኀ
Nahas	ነ	*na*	ኑ	*nu*	ኒ	*ni*	ና	*na*	ኔ	*ne*	ን	*ne*	ኖ	*no*	ነ
Alph	አ	*a*	ኡ	*u*	ኢ	*i*	ኣ	*a*	ኤ	*e*	እ	*e*	ኦ	*o*	አ
Qaf	ከ	*qa*	ኩ	*qu*	ኪ	*qi*	ካ	*qa*	ኬ	*qe*	ክ	*qe*	ኮ	*qo*	ከ
Wawe	ወ	*wa*	ዉ	*wu*	ዊ	*wi*	ዋ	*wa*	ዌ	*we*	ው	*we*	ዎ	*wo*	ወ
Ain	ዐ	*a*	ዑ	*u*	ዒ	*i*	ዓ	*a*	ዔ	*e*	ዕ	*e*	ዖ	*o*	ዐ
Zai	ዘ	*za*	ዙ	*zu*	ዚ	*zi*	ዛ	*za*	ዜ	*ze*	ዝ	*ze*	ዞ	*zo*	ዘ
Jaman	የ	*ja*	ዩ	*ju*	ዪ	*ji*	ያ	*ja*	ዬ	*je*	ይ	*je*	ዮ	*jo*	የ
Dent	ደ	*da*	ዱ	*du*	ዲ	*di*	ዳ	*da*	ዴ	*de*	ድ	*de*	ዶ	*do*	ደ
Geml	ገ	*ga*	ጉ	*gu*	ጊ	*ghi*	ጋ	*ga*	ጌ	*ghe*	ግ	*ghe*	ጎ	*go*	ገ
Tait	ጠ	*ta*	ጡ	*tu*	ጢ	*ti*	ጣ	*ta*	ጤ	*te*	ጥ	*te*	ጦ	*to*	ጠ
Pait	ጰ	*pa*	ጱ	*pu*	ጲ	*pi*	ጳ	*pa*	ጴ	*pe*	ጵ	*pe*	ጶ	*po*	ጰ
Zadai	ጸ	*tza*	ጹ	*tzu*	ጺ	*tzi*	ጻ	*tza*	ጼ	*tze*	ጽ	*tze*	ጾ	*tzo*	ጸ
Zappa	ፀ	*tza*	ፁ	*tzu*	ፂ	*tzi*	ፃ	*tza*	ፄ	*tze*	ፅ	*tze*	ፆ	*tzo*	ፀ
Af	ፈ	*fa*	ፉ	*fu*	ፊ	*fi*	ፋ	*fa*	ፌ	*fe*	ፍ	*fe*	ፎ	*fo*	ፈ
Pfa	ፐ	*pa*	ፑ	*pu*	ፒ	*pi*	ፓ	*pa*	ፔ	*pe*	ፕ	*pe*	ፖ	*po*	ፐ

K. Eth.

Z. French

Y. French & English

T. Eth.

P. Eth.

Ts. Eth.

tz. Eth.

A Angl ou Gall i Gall a tengum C clar e obscur o Long

A Specimen

of their diphthongs

ቈ *kuă*	ቋ *kuā*	ቌ *kuē*	ቍ *kuĕ*
ኈ *huă*	ኋ *huā*	ኌ *huē*	ኍ *huĕ*
ኰ *quă*	ኳ *quā*	ኴ *quē*	ኵ *quĕ*
ጐ *guă*	ጓ *guā*	ጔ *guē*	ጕ *guĕ*

A Specimen

of their numbers or numerall figures taken from the Greek

Ō: A 1 Ī: Γ. 3. Ō: Δ. 4 Ē: H 8. Ū. 0.9.
I: I. 10 X̄: X 60 Π 80 P̄: P. 100 Ī. P. 1000 P̄P 10000

A Specimen *of the Amharic Letters*

Sh Engl. ሸ *sha* ሹ *shu* ሺ *shi* . ሻ *sha* ሼ *she* ሽ *shε* ሾ *:Sho*
Tj Hung. ቸ *tja* ቿ *tju* ች *tji* ቻ *tja* ቼ *tje* ቺ *tiε* ቾ *tjo*
ñ Spanish ኘ *ña* ኙ *ña* ኚ *ñu* ኛ *ña* ኜ *ñe* ኝ *nje* ኟ *no*
Ch Germ. ኸ *hha* ኹ *hhu* ኺ *hhi* ኻ *ha* ኼ *hhe* ኽ *hhε* ኾ *hho*
J French. ዠ *ja* ዡ *ju* ዢ *ji* ዣ *ja* ዤ *jē* ዥ *jĕ* ዦ *jo*
D Bohem ጀ *ǰja* ጁ *tju* ጂ *ǰji* ጃ *ǰja* ጄ *ǰje* ጅ *ǰjε* ጆ *ǰjo*
Cia Ital ጨ *tsha* ጩ *tshu* ጪ *tshi* ጫ *tsha* ጬ *tshe* ጭ *tshε* ጮ *tsho*

OF THE Nature of the Countrey, AND THE INHABITANTS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Various Names of the Abeſſines, *and Original of the Nation.*

The Original of the Name of the Abaſſines *is* Arabian: *But they rather choſe to be called* Ethiopians; *more particularly,* Agazjan, (i. e.) *Free, as the* Germans *call'd themſelves* Franks. *They tranſported themſelves out of* Arabia-Felix *into* Africa, *for they derive their Original from the* Sabeans, *or* Homerites. *Their Language agrees with the* Arabian. *The* Grecians *call them* Axumitæ, *others* Indians; *hence confuſion of Story: Erroneouſly called* Caldeans. *The Name of* Abaſſia *or* Ethiopia, *to be retained.*

IT behoves us to begin with the Name of the Nation. They are now generally called, *Habeſſines*, by others *Abeſſines*, or *Abaſſenes*; the Name being given them by the *Arabians*, in whoſe Language, [*Habeſh*] (*a*) ſignifies a (*b*) Confuſion, or mixture of People; which Appellation, as being ſomewhat ignominious, they for a long time deſpiſed, neither do they yet acknowledge it in their Writings. For they rather chooſe to call

(*a*) *For* Habeſha, *ſpeaking of a multitude of People, is no more than* Convenit, *or the multitude gathered together, in the Second Conjugation* Habeſha, congregavit, *or Congregated together: From whence the words* Habeſh *&c. ſignifie a multitude of men gathered together from ſeveral Tribes of People. So that the* Abeſſines *may not be improperly called by one* Latin *word,* Convenæ, *or ſuch as come together.*

(*b*) *The* Germans *ſound it* Shabaſh *or* Hhabaſh, *the* Italians, Habaſcia; *the* French, Habech, *the* Portugueſes, Abex, *pronounced after the ſame manner with variety of Letters; in regard of the* Arabick, Habeſh, *which is the Original of all theſe words. Ill written* Chabatti *for* Chabaſſi, *in the* Prolegomena *of* Walton's Poly-Glotton. *Cap.* 15. *Pag.* 98.

their

their Kingdom, *Mangheſta Itjopia*, the Kingdom of *Ethiopia*, and themſelves *Itjopiawjan*, *Ethiopians*; aſſuming the Name from the *Greeks*, tho it be too general, and were formerly common as well to all the ſwarthy Complexion'd People in *Aſia*, as to the Blacks of *Ethiopia*. (*c*) But if you require a ſpecial Name from them, then they call their Kingdom *Geez*: alſo the Countrey of *Ag-azi*; or the Land of the *Ag-azjan*, or (*d*) Freemen, either from the Liberty they enjoy; or their tranſporting themſelves from one place to another, for that the radical Word *Geeza* admits of both ſignifications. Perchance, (*e*) becauſe that in ancient times, tranſlating themſelves out of *Arabia* and *Africa*, in ſearch of other Habitations, they aſſumed that Name in ſign of Liberty, as of old, the *Germans*, paſſing the *Rhine*, gave themſelves the Name of *Franks*. (*f*) For they are not Natives of the Land; but came out of that Part of *Arabia* which is called *The Happy*, which adjoyns to the *Red-Sea*: and from whence there is an eaſie Paſſage into *Africa*. For the *Abaſſenes* formerly inhabited *Arabia*, and were reckon'd (*g*) into the number of the *Sabeans* or *Homerites*, as the ancient Geographers teſtifie, (*h*) and many other Convincing Arguments ſufficiently prove. For their Ancient Language, which we call the *Ethiopick*, is very near a-kin to the *Arabick*. They have alſo many Cuſtoms, as Circumciſion, which are common with the *Arabians*. Their Genius, and the ſhape of their Bodies, and the Lineaments of their Countenances reſemble the *Arabians* much more than the *African Ethiopians*. Beſides, that *Severus* the Emperor, among the Vanquiſhed People of *Arabia*, cauſed the Name of the *Abeſſines* to be (*i*) Engraven on his Coyn.

(*c*) *Hence* Ethiopia *was by the Ancients divided into* Oriental *and* Occidental, *into* African *and* Aſiatick: *Of which thoſe Places of Scripture that ſpeak of the* Cuſhites *are to be underſtood. Now adays* Ethiopia *is only Attributed to* Africa.

(*d*) *For which* Gregory *is my Author in a Letter to my ſelf.*

(*e*) *See my* Ethiopick Lexicon. *Col.* 405.

(*f*) *Which I believe, as Agreeing with thoſe Authors cited by* Pontanus *concerning the Original of the* Franks.

(*g*) *For the* Sabeans *and* Homerites *are the ſame from the Region of the* Axumites, *the* Red Sea *lying between, as ſaith* Procop. Gazeus *upon the Tenth Chapter of the Third Book of* Kings, *Ver.* 1. *upon the words, Queen of* Sheba.

(*h*) Stephanus *in his Book concerning Cities, upon the word* Abaſſeni, *writes,* Abaſſeni, *a Nation of* Arabia, *and relates out of the* Arabicks *of* Uranius, *that they bordered upon the* Sabeans.

(*i*) Scaliger in Comput. Eccleſ. Ethiop. de Emendat. temp. *Lib.* 7.

The

The *Habeßines* themſelves alſo, while they claim the Queen of *Sheba* for their Princeſs, betray their Original. For the *Arabians* unanimouſly confeſs, That ſhe was deſcended from the Lineage of the *Homerites*. The *Grecian* Writers, ignorant of the proper Name, from the Royal City *Axuma*, called them *Axumites*. (*k*) Others in reference to their Original, have confus'd them with the *Homerites*; others, by reaſon of their vicinity, with the *Nubeans*. Moſt of the Ancients called them *Indians*, as they did all thoſe Nations under the *Torrid Zone*, whoſe particular Names they underſtood not. Yea the *Red Sea* it ſelf is by ſome (*l*) of the Ancients called the *Indian Sea*; ſo that 'tis no wonder that the Nations bordering upon it ſhould be called *Indians*. Neither did the *Portugueezes* know any other Name in the beginning of the former Century. For *Damianus de Goez* calls their King, the great Emperor of the *Indians*. (*m*) Which diverſity of Names has begat no ſmall Confuſion in our Hiſtory. For ſome things are attributed to our *Abeſſines*, which are appropriated to the true *Indians*. (*n*) And ſome things written concerning another Nation of *Ethiopia*, are impoſed as peculiar to the *Habeſſines*. At *Rome*, upon the firſt Printing of certain *Ethiopick* Books, their Language was ſaid to be *Chaldean*, and they themſelves erroneouſly called, ſometimes *Chaldeans*, at other times *Indians*. But the Name of *Abeſſinia* or *Abaſſia*, now known to all the World, ſhall be the Name which (*o*) we ſhall retain, with that of *Ethiopia* ſometimes: More eſpecially when we ſhall diſcourſe concerning their Kings, their Ancient Language, or their Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; all which admit themſelves to be diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *Ethiopick*; which the *Abeſſines* themſelvs do alſo allow.

(*k*) Stephanus *makes mention of theſe in the word* Axumites. Cedrenus, *An.* 15. *of* Juſtinian, *and* Ptolomie. Scaliger *mentions the Name of* Axumite *upon certain Pieces of Coyn, in the fore-recited place.*

(*l*) *So* Procopius Gazeus, *calls it in his Comment upon the forementioned Tenth of* Kings; *and others, as* Scaliger *obſerves in* Comp. Eccleſ. Ethiop. *&c.*

(*m*) *In his Relation of the Embaſſie of* Mattheus *to the King of* Portugal.

(*n*) *Which chiefly happens in the Hiſtory of the Converſion of the* Habeſſines, *ſet forth by* Adeſius *and* Frumentius; *which the Writers of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, have hitherto almoſt all of them underſtood, concerning the true or* Aſiatic Indians. Theodoret *in* Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 22.

(*o*) Posken *in* Pærfat. Pſalt. Ethiopic. Edit. Rom. Ambroſe Theſeus *Introd. in Ling. Orient.* Pag. 13.

Chap. II.

Of the Situation and Bounds of Abeſſinia.

The Situation above Egypt, *and degrees of Latitude. The Error of* Jovius, *and the vulgar Tables. The true Latitude. The conjectural Latitude. The Bounds toward the* North, *and toward the* Eaſt. *Toward the* South. *Toward the* Weſt.

IN *Africa*, above *Egypt*, beyond (*a*) *Nubia*, lies *Habaſſia* very near between the Eighteenth and Sixteenth Degree of *Northern* Latitude; being (*b*) called by ſome the *Upper Ethiopia*. It extends not altogether ſo far as the *Equinoctial Line*, much leſs can it be ſaid to croſs it. Which notwithſtanding, almoſt all Geographers and Hiſtorians have hitherto aſſerted: whether it were that they did not rightly underſtand the Sayings and Writings of others; or whether deceived by the Credit of *Paulus Jovius*, who writes that the Kingdom of *Sceva*, (*Sewa* or *Scheva*) beholds the *Antartick Pole* elevated in two and twenty degrees; whereas it is in no place to be ſeen where *Shewa* lies. Which miſtake as ſeems moſt probable, he too unwarily drew, not from the *Abeſſines*, utterly ignorant of thoſe things, but from a certain Ancient Geographical Map of *Africa*; the Author of which has ſo far extended *Habeſſinia*, that he has joyned it to another Region known only to himſelf; fearing to ſeem ignorant of what lay between by leaving a ſpace. As if it were a ſhame to be ignorant of that which flies the piercing examination of human wit, and can be no otherwiſe diſcovered but by experiment.

But the *Jeſuits*, mores kilful in *Spherical Diſcipline*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Aſtrolabe*, were the firſt who taught us that ſame true Latitude, from the *North* to the *South*, already mention'd. But they were not able to make it out: Yet ſo far as could be rendred moſt probable and certain, by conjecture, and the length of Journeys, the *Portugals* do reckon this Kingdom, where it is broadeſt, to contain a a Hundred and Forty of their Leagues. But the longeſt

(*a*) Sub Egypto *moſt write, but erroneouſly.*
(*b*) *So* B. Tellez, Hiſtoria general. de Ethiopia alta.

Journey,

Journey directly *Westward*, is to be accounted from the *Red Sea* to the fartheſt Limits of *Dembea*. For moſt ſure it is, that the Bounds of this Empire do from the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, as it were Conically leſſen; beſides that the *Gallans* have torn ſeveral of its Members from it.

Toward the *North* it has adjoyning to it, the Kingdom of *Fund*, otherwiſe *Sennar*, by the *Portugals* called *Fungi*; a part of Ancient *Nubia*. Toward the *Eaſt* it was formerly bounded by the *Red Sea*: But now the Port of *Arkiko*, with the adjacent Iſland of *Matzua* being taken, all that Coaſt obeys the *Turk*, who are Maſters of that Sea. A Sea that affords but little convenience for Harbors, full of Shelves and Quick-ſands, and beſides that, the Iſlands which belong to it are Untill'd, ill Inhabited, and labouring under ſuch a ſcarcity of Water in the midd'ſt of the Sea, that they neither afford Accommodation nor Security to Strangers, for which reaſon they are but little viſited. The Mouth of the Streight is very narrow, and of ſo ill a fame for frequent Shipwracks, that the *Arabians* call it *Bab-elmendeb*, the (c) Port of Affliction. To thoſe that enter into it, the Kingdom of *Dancale* appears upon the left hand. The Prince of this Territory is a Friend to the *Abeſſines*, and Commands the Port of *Baylur*, where the Patriarch ſent from *Rome*, firſt Landed, and travelled thence into *Abeſſinia*. More within the Streight lies the King of *Adela*, a *Mahumetan*; a Profeſt Enemy, and in the laſt Century, the Scourge of the *Habeſſines*. Next follow in their Order the Kingdoms of *Dawaro*, *Bali*, *Fatagar*, *Wed*, *Bizamo*, *Cambata*, with ſeveral other Provinces, either poſſeſſed or waſted by the Barbarous Nation of the *Gallans*. From thence the Countries winding about the Eighth Degree toward the *South*, *Alaba* and *Jendero*, by the *Portugals* called *Gingiro*, Kingdoms of the *Gentiles*, terminate *Habeſſinia*; till you come to *Enarea*, the laſt Kingdom, ſeated between the Eighth and Ninth Degree of Latitude, toward the *Northweſt*. Laſtly the River *Maleg*, and *Nilus* it ſelf, rolling along through ſeveral vaſt Deſarts, cloſe up the *Weſtern* Limits. Nor are there any other Nations worthy to be mentioned thereabout, till you come to the *North*,

(c) *In the Vulgar Mapps, tho of later Editions, miſtakenly called* Babelmandel. *The Interpreters of the* Nubian Geographie, *pronounce it* Bab-Almandab; *and render it*, The Dreadful Mouth, *Pag.* 20.

and the Kingdom of *Senmar*, already nam'd, unleſs the wandring *Ethiopians*, which the Ancients called *Numades* and *Troglodytes*; and the *Abeſſines Shankala*.

Chap. III.

Of the Diviſion of Habeſſinia, *into diverſe Kingdoms and Regions.*

The Regions and Kingdoms of Habeſſinia *are variouſly recounted, and numbred up. Nnumerical faults.* Gregories *enumeration and pronunciation. The Limits of* Ambara, *and the Prvinces.* Angota, Bagemra, *with its Prefectures,* Balia, Bizama, Brigna, Cambata, Conta, Damota, Dewaro, Dombeja, *and its Provinces.* Enaria, Fatagara, Gafata, Gajghe, Ganna, Ganz, Gidm, Gojam. Gombo. Gongha, Guraghe. Ifat, Samen, Set. Sowa Shat. Tigra *and its Prefectures. Thoſe which are under* Bahrnagaſſus, Walaka, Wed. Tellez *reckons more. Others he omits. More remarkable Provinces. What the King of* Habeſſinia *poſſeſſs at this day.*

THE Regions of which *Ethiopia* conſiſts, are neither equally, nor with the ſame obſervance of number, but variouſly ſet down. Moſt of them enjoy the Name of the Kingdom, *Mengheſt*, or *Ethiopia*, in General; perhaps becauſe in ancient times they had their proper Princes and peculiar Laws, as we know that formerly *Spain* was divided into ſeveral Kingdoms of the ſame nature. The reſt, in the *Amharic* Dialect, are called *Shumet*, Prefectures, which are not however Governed by *Vice-Roys*, but are under peculiar Governours of their own; which being confounded with the Kingdoms ſo call'd, muſt needs render the number of the Kingdoms uncertain. *Paulus Jovius* diſtinguiſhes the Empire of the *Habeſſines* into more than forty Kingdoms; others add yet more, which are more eaſily ſet down in writing, than demonſtrated. *Matthew* the *Armenian*, firſt Ambaſſador to the *Portugals* from the *Abeſſines*, will needs have (*a*) ſixty. *Teſfa Sionus*, who ſet forth the *New-Teſtament* in *Ethiopic*, affirms ſixty two Kingdoms in Subjection to his Emperor.

Hiſt. l. 18.

In Epiſt. Ev. Johan.

(a) Dam. à Goez. de legat. Indorum ad Emanuel. 3. Lus. Reg.

Unleſs

Unleſs perhaps the Numerical Character for ſixty, be miſtaken for that denoting only twenty; of which ſort, there are moſt frequent faults both in Prophane and (*b*) Sacred Writers. P. *Nicolaus Godignus*, from the Relation of *John Gabriel*, a *Portugueze* Collonel, a Perſon of great Fame, and one that had long reſided in *Ethiopia*, aſſerts, That the *Abeſſine* Empire, according to its ancient Right, comprehends no leſs than twenty ſix Kingdoms, and fourteen Provinces. But he mixes ſome Neighbouring Kingdoms, which are no way Subject to the King of the *Abeſſines*, and ſome he alſo omits. (*c*) However moſt certain it is, that we may ſafely reckon twenty, computing thoſe which the *Gallans* have ſubdued. *Gregory* named thirty to me, adding perhaps ſome ſmall ones, which others allow to be no more than Prefectures. Theſe I ſhall reckon up from his own mouth, and as he wrote them down himſelf, that the (*d*) Reader may be aſſured of their true and genuine Pronunciation. The firſt, and that the beſt and moſt fertile, is the Kingdom of *Tigra*; but for Nobleneſs *Amhara* exceeds it, which we ſhall put in the firſt place, the reſt following according to the Order of the *Latin* Alphabet.

Amhara is now the moſt noble Kingdom of all *Ethiopia*, by reaſon of thoſe inacceſſible Fortified Rocks, *Gheſen* and *Amhacel*, where formerly the Kings Sons, excluded from the Kingdom, were ſecured; and is therefore accounted the Native Country of the late and preſent Kings, and of all the Nobility. It lies almoſt in the Center of *Habeſſinia*, having on the *North* the Kingdom of *Bagemder*; upon the *Weſt*, *Nile*; and beyond that, the Kingdom of *Gojam*. Upon the *South* it views *Walake*, and *Eaſtward* beholds *Angota*. The Provinces that belong to it are theſe that follow:

1 *Akamba*
2 *Amhacel*
3 *Anbacit*
4 *Armon-em*

(*b*) Ludovic. Capell. in Critic. Sacr. *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 10. *brings an Example of* Sam. Bochart. in Hieroz. ſuo. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 27. ad Maccab. 1. 6. 36. *concerning thirty two Soldiers upon one Elephant.*

(*c*) *Certainly* Godignus's *enumeration is moſt confuſed: for the moſt part ill pronounced, as* Leca, *for* Waleka. *And why does he reckon* Adela, *and* Aucagurecè *among the number of the Kingdoms; when the latter is onely the Metropolis and no Kingdom; watered by the River* Hawaſhi (*for ſo it ought to be written:*) *and yet confeſſes that the Inhabitants are no way Subject to the* Abeſſine *Emperor.*

(*d*) *This was very neceſſary by reaſon of the great variation and corruption of Names, ſo frequent in all Authors.*

5 *Atroned*

5 *Atronca Marjam*
6 *Bada-Bad*
7 *Barara*
8 *Batata*
9 *Beda-gadal*
10 *Dada*
11 *Dad*
12 *Demah*
13 *Ephrata*
14 *Ewarza*
15 *Feres-Bahr*
16 *Ganata-Ghiorghis*
17 *Geſha-bar*
18 *Grumghe*
19 *Ghel*
29 *Gheſhe*
21 *Gheſhen*
22 *Hagara Chriſtos*
20 *Karna-Marjam*
24 *Kicarja*
25 *Lai-Kueita.*
26 *Macana-Celece*, where *Gregory* was Born.
27 *Malza*
28 *Shegla*
29 *Tabor*
39 *Tadbaba-Marjam.*
31 *Tat-Kueja*
02 *Walſa*
33 *Waro*
34 *Wagda*
35 *Wanz-egr*
36 *Zar-amba.*

The Second Kingdom is *Angot*, which is alſo called *Hangot.*

The Third Kingdom is *Bagembder*, in the vulgar Mapps *Bagamidri*; a large and fertile Kingdom, watered with many Rivers. *Gregory* compared it with our *Germany*, ſaying, *Here is much water*, as in *Bagembder*. The River *Baſhlo* divides it from *Amhara*. It is diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Territories.

1 *Andabet*, the Trumpeters Countrey.
2 *Atcana*
3 *Dahr*, more particularly like *Germany*, as *Gregory* ſaid.
5 *Eſte*
3 *Guna*
6 *Koma*
7 *Maker*, bordering upon *Angota.*
8 *Maſhalamja*
9 *Nafasmauca*
10 *Smada*
11 *Tzama*
12 *Wainalga*, famous for the ſlaughter of *Grainus* in the former Century.
13 *Wudo.*

The ſourth Kingdom is *Bali*, moſt *Eaſterlie*, which the *Gallans* firſt ſubdued; and thence afflicted the *Abeſſines* with ſo many Calamities.

The

The fifth Kingdom is *Bizamo*, divided from *Gojam* by the River *Nile*.

The sixth Kingdom is *Bugna*, in some Mapps called *Abugana*, a mountanous and small Kingdom.

The seventh Kingdom is *Cambata*, the Inhabitants whereof are called *Hadja*, or *Hadiens*. From whence it comes to pass, that *Adea*, or *Hadea* is in the Mapps erroneously called a Kingdom. It is the last Kingdom toward the *South*, lying not far from *Enarrea*; for the most part Christians, but mixed with *Pagans* and *Mahumetans*.

The eighth Kingdom is *Cont*; by the *Portugals* called *Conch*.

The ninth Kingdom is *Damot*; a *Southerly* Kindom, seated beyond *Nile*, and the *Gafats*.

The tenth Kingdom is *Dawaro*; the *Eastern* limits of the Empire, adjoyning to the *Southern* part of *Bali*.

The eleventh Kingdom is *Dembeja*, or *Dembea*, a Kingdom now famous for the Royal Camp, continually pitched there. The Prefectures belonging to it are,

1 *Arebja*
2 *Decal-driva*
3 *Debbana*
4 *Edn*
7 *Gaba*
6 *Guender*
7 *Kuara*
8 *Nara*
9 *Sarako*
10 *Sera-karn*
11 *Takuesa*
12 *Tenqel*
13 *Tshelga* as it were the Gates of *Abuassia* toward *Sennar*.
14 *Walwad*.

The twelfth Kingdom is *Enarea*, inhabited both by(*d*) Christians and Gentiles. This Kingdom was subdued by *Melech-Saghed*; who converted the Governour thereof to the Christian Faith. *Gregory* very much applauded the Inhabitants for their Probity and Integrity: he said it was a fertile Soile, and abounding in Gold, adding *That he had heard from the* Portuguezes, *that this Kingdom was five and thirty days journey distant from the* Indian *Ocean*; *but would not assert it for Truth.*

The thirteenth Kingdom is *Tatagar*; formerly inhabited by Christians, *Eastward* adjoyning to *Bali*.

(*d*) *By the* Portugals *called* Narea, *by* Godignus Nerea. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

The

The fourteenth Kingdom is *Gafat*, bordering upon *Damota*.

The fifteenth Kingdom is *Gajghe*; pronounce it as the *French* do, *Gajegue*.

The sixteenth *Gan*, by the *Portuguezes* called *Ganhe*.

The seventeenth, *Ganz*. Erroneously joyned with *Bali*, and in the feigned Title of the King, contracted into *Baleganz*.

The eighteenth *Gedm*, bordering upon *Dawaro* toward the *East*.

The nineteenth *Gojam*; (*e*) pronounce it with the *French*, *Gojam*. A Kingdom wonderful for its situation, and famous for the Fountains of *Nile* therein now discovered. For the River *Nile* almost surrounds it in manner of a *Peninsula*. But that it cannot possibly be the Island of *Meroe*, as *Tellezius* believes, we shall prove in our Commentary. *Godignus* affirms, that it contains twenty Provinces, but conceals their Names.

The twentieth Kingdom is *Gombo*.

The one and twentieth, *Gonga*.

The two and twentieth, *Guraghe*.

The three and twentieth, *Ifat*, adjoyning to *Shewa* toward the *East*.

The twenty fourth is *Samen*; by *Tellezius* called *Cemen*, and numbred among the Provinces.

The twenty fifth *Set*, whose Inhabitants are *Pagans*.

The twenty sixth *Sewa*, in the *Amharec* Dialect *Shewa*, as the *Portugals* call it *Xoa*, or *Xaoa*, a very large and most opulent Kingdom; formerly much frequented by the *Abessine* Kings, and then more famous than *Amhara*. It is distinguished into the *Upper* and the *Lower*, there are in it several Monasteries and some Towns, as may be seen in our Mapp. *Dabra Libanos*, the seat of *Jeeghi*, chief Overseer of all the Monks, was formerly in this Kingdom.

The twenty seventh is *Shat*, in *Portugueze*, *Xat*.

The twenty eighth is *Tegre* or *Tigra*; one of the principal Kingdoms, and the first as you enter into *Ethiopia*. The Native Country of the former Kings, who kept their Courts at *Axuma*. The most noble part of it lyes toward the *Red Sea*, and is called *Bahr*, the *Sea*, or *Medra-Bahr*, the *Land of the Sea*, or a Maritim Province, comprehending under it three

(*e*) *Erroneously* Goyame *in the Mapps. Worse* Goroma *by* Godignus. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. *pag.* 15.

Toparchies. The Governour, *Bahr-Nagash* resides in *Debarwa*. (*f*) The Prefectures belonging to *Tegre* are,

1 *Abargale*
2 *Acsum*, or the Prefecture of *Axuma*, the ancient Residence of the Kings.
3 *Adet*
4 *Afa-macuonen*
5 *Agamja*
6 *Amba-Sanet* (*g*)
7 *Bora*
8 *Upper-Bura*
9 *Lower-Bura*
10 *Beta-Abba Garima*
11 *Doba*, near *Angora*, inhabited by *Pagans*.
12 *Enderta*
13 *Garalta*
14 *Hagarai*
15 *Memberta*
16 *Nader*
17 *Sahart*
18 *Salawa*
19 *Sanafe*
20 *Sire*
21 *Taderar*
22 *Tamben*
23 *Torat*
24 *Tzam-a*
25 *Tzerae*
26 *Wag*
27 *Wajrat*.

All which are inhabited by several Nations and People. But there are not so many Governours as Prefectures: For that sometimes two or three Prefectures are under one Governour. For *Bora*, *Salawa*, and *Wag*, are all under one Tetrarch.

The Prefectures under *Bahrnagas*, are

1 *Bakla*, whose Inhabitants are all Graziers, and change their habitations, abiding in the Summer in one place; all the Winter-time in another.
2 *Egala*
3 *Hamacen*, It consists of three Towns, which are subject to the King of the *Habessines*, however they chooſe their own Magistrates, and are Governed by their own Laws, like a Petty Common-wealth, and often give Protection to Exiles and Fugitives.
4 *Marjan*
5 *Marata*
6 *Sarawe*
7 *Zangaren*.

(*f*) *In the Mapps of* Dobarua, *Erroneously* Barva; *worse* Barna.
(*g*) *By* Tellez *called* Ambacanet. *Pag.* 119.

The twenty ninth Kingdom is *Walaka*, in the *Portugueeze* Language *Oleca*, or *Holeca*.

The thirtieth, *Wed*, by the *Portugals* called *Ogge*.

These are the Kingdoms which *Gregory* numbred up to me, and left the Names of them written down in the *Ethiopic* Characters: to the end I might pronounce them genuinely, and express them as adaptly as could be done in conformity to the *Latin* Letters. *Tellezius* reckons more, which nevertheless, he does not distinguish in his Mapps by great Letters, as he does the other Kingdoms; that is to say,

1 *Alamale*
2 *Aura*
3 *Bahargamo*
4 *Betezamora*
5 *Boxa*, which nevertheless he says, is a Country of *Enarea*. *l.* 1. *c.* 8.
Guniar
Manz
Marrabet
Mota.

On the other side some Kingdoms he omits, some of which however he has inserted in his Geographical Mapp, and of some he makes mention in his History; *l.* 1. *c.* 13. as

Fatagar
Gafat
Gajghe
Gambo
Ganga
Set
Shat

The most remarkable Provinces which have their peculiar Governours, are

1 *Emfras*, between *Bagemdra*, and *Dembea*.
2 *Mazaga*
3 *Mugar*, near to *Sewa*
4 *Tzagade*
5 *Wagara*
6 *Walkajit*

The rest you shall meet with in our Geographick Tables. Now of all these Kingdoms and Provinces the King of the *Abessines* enjoys at present,

1 *Ambara*
2 *Bajemdra*
3 *Cambata*
4 *Damota*.

5 *Dembea*

5 *Dembea*
6 *Enarea*
7 *Gojam*
8 *Samen*
9 Part of *Sewa*, with some other Kingdoms of leſſer note.

And for Provinces, thoſe of

1 *Emfras*
2 *Mazaga*
3 *Tzagade*
4 *Wagara*
5 *Walkajit*

Which Kingdoms and Provinces comprehend the beſt part indeed; but not the half of the ancient *Habeſſia*. The reſt the *Galans* have either ſubdued, or elſe utterly laid waſt, as we ſhall relate in due place.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Vulgar Chorographic Table or Mapp of Habeſſinia, *and the Author's new one.*

The New Mapp of the Habeſſines. *The new one found fault with as Erroneous: Look'd on as ridiculous by* Gregory; *by reaſon of the ill writing and becauſe of the ill underſtood Names of* Barnagaſſus, Tigremahon, Ambiancantiva, *which are explained. The ambiguous powers of Letters. Advice to concert a certain Geographical Alphabet. The Authors conteſt about his own Mapps.*

BUT to the End that all things may the more clearly appear, we ſhall produce a new Chorographical Mapp of *Habeſſinia*, the old one that goes begging about the World for an Author, being altogether uncertain. I was not a little aſham'd to hear the ſedulous *Ethiopian, Gregory*, upbraiding as he did, the vanity and careleſneſs of our People, to obtrude ſuch abſurdities upon the Commonweal of Learning, and to defile otherwiſe moſt (*h*) beautiful Pieces of Geography, with ſuch fabulous impertinencies. While they made public to the World Mapps of ſuch conſequence,

(*h*) *As thoſe of* Ortelius, Janſonius; *the* Atlas's *of* Gerand, Mercator, Bleau, *and others.*

without any sufficient Authority, or any light by what Pen, of what Nation, or in what Language they were first written, as if they designed on purpose to deceive the Reader, that so he might not be in a Capacity to judge of the Truth: which if it were their aim, they did not miss of their intentions, in regard they led several persons, otherwise eminent, and of great judgment, into foul mistakes, who cryed up the Empire of the *Habessines* for the largest in the World, as being little less than all *Europe*, too unwarily trusting to their fictions.

When I first shewed the vulgar Mapps to *Gregory*, sometimes I made him laugh, sometimes I made him angry. For before I call'd to mind that the *Latin* Letters were to be pronounced after the *Portugal* manner, I asked him concerning the Kingdoms of *Xoa*, *Gojam*, and other Regions, from whence the *Portuguezes* had either taken away, or to which they had added the *Latin* Letters, *a*, *d*, *do*, as being their Articles of declension, (*i*) without any regard to the Letter *b*. But when I expected an Answer, he knew not what I meant, till I pronounced for *Ksoa*, *Shoa*; for *Goyam*, *Gojam*, and so onward: But he laughed outright when I question'd him concerning the Kingdoms of *Barnagassus*, *Tigremahon*, (*k*) and *Ambiancantiva*. For after a short hesitation he understood them to be compound words, in which the Titles of the *Vice-Roys*, were conjoyned with the Names of the Regions over which they were made Governors; and besides that, very much corrupted by the *Portugal* pronunciation and spelling. For *Barnagasso* in the *Amharic* Language extends it self to *Bahr-Nagash*, a compound word of *Bahr* which signifies the Sea, and *Nagash* a Governour, as much as to say a Commander or Admiral at Sea. *Tigremahon* corruptly for *Tigre-macuonen*, that is to say, Judge or President of *Tigre*: *Ambian-cantiva*, for *Dembea-cantiba*, that is, Governour or President of *Dembea*. The same inference happens to the most noble City and Court of Royal Residence, *Axuma*, which never appears in the Mapps, by reason that the *Portugals* pronounce *Axum*, *Acassum*; for they cast away the *A*, as an Article of declension, and adding their own termination *O*, made

(*i*) *As* Abugno, *for* Bugna, Barua; *worse* Barua, *for* Dobarua; Amara *for* Amhara; Ambadora, *for* Ambadarho, *&c.*

(*k*) *In the vulgar Tables also you shall find* Tigre *and* Tigray, *as if they were two distinct Kingdoms: Which error* B. Telles *severely reprehends.* L. 1. Ch. 4.

it

it *Cassumo*. Upon which City we stood pausing a long time, before we could tell what to make of it. I pass by an innumerable company of other mistakes, which rendred the Mapp altogether useless to me. Nor is it to be doubted but the same thing often falls out in other Exotic Tables: So that unless a Man can divine the Language of the Author, or where he was born; it is impossible but he must read the Names of the places most extravagantly. For we find that because the Modern *Europeans* have no Letters of their own, but onely have accommodated the *Latin* Letters to their own sounds, it comes to pass, that one and the same Letter is variously pronounced by various Nations; which frequently appears in Consonants conjoyned. As for Example, **Ch**, among the *Germans*, *Belgians* and *Polonians*, is a rough Aspiration like the *Hebrew* ח, or the *Greek* X. Among the *Italians Ch*, is pronounced like a *k*, among the *French* like an *Hebrew* ש. But among the *English*, *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, who alone genuinely pronounce the word *China*, there is a kind of hissing compos'd between the Letter ʒ. and **sch.** which the *Italians* express by a C before *e* or *i*; the *Polonians* by **Cz**, the *Hebrews* more lively in their ש, the *Germans* **Sch**, the *English* by *Sh*; the *French* Ch, the *Italians* Sc before *e*, and *i*; and which the *Portugueses* would do by their Letter *X*, but that they are unwilling to have it a superfluous Letter in their Alphabet.

For which reason it would be very requisite, that the Publishers of Foraign Mapps, should also Publish their Instructions, and tell the World according to what Pronounciation, the Names of Countries and Cities ought to be read: Or else that in the compiling of some universal Geographical Work, care might be taken to add such an Index as should be the standard of Pronunciation in every Country, to prevent the common mistakes.

We must acknowledge that our Chorographick Table is not without its defects: For though *Gregorie* were sufficiently skill'd in the Names and Situation of places, yet he was ignorant of the Degrees of the Sphere and Elevation of the Pole. Therefore in the first Mapps of *Habessinia* which I made, I follow'd the Longitude and Latitude of the vulgar Tables; but because I found them false in that too, we thought it more prudence not to Publish any at all. I must confess being in company with certain Persons of Learning

and

and Quality, upon a (*l*) discourse that happen'd concerning *Ethiopia*, after I had made my Apology, I produc'd a Manuscript exemplar of both sorts: But such they were, that should they ever come to light by any misfortune, I dare not be responsible for their Credit. But at length having happen'd upon the Chorographick Table of *Tellezius*, delineated by the Fathers of the Society, with the help of the *Astrolabe*, I made no scruple to retain the *Degrees*, as by them set down, and then to make them common, together with a new Mapp, for universal information. I have added the Midland Regions, tho without any adventure of justification, in regard those Regions by reason of their vast distance, being so seldom visited by Travellers, afford little of certainty.

(*l*) Thevenot *makes mention of that which I gave to the Elector of* Ments, *in his Remarks upon the History of* Ethiopia. *I presented one also to* Frederick 3*d. King of* Danemark, *another to* Charles Lewis *the Elector Palatine, and some others I could not refuse the same satisfaction of their curiosity.*

Chap. V.

Of the Nature of the Soil, Temper of the Air, Tempests, Winds, and such like Meteors.

The Air uncertain. Wonderful effects of heat. The Torrid Zone *is nevertheless habitable. The high places cold. No Snow. The temper and wholesomness of the Air. Horrid Thunders. A dirty Winter describ'd by* Gregory. *Diversity of Tempests in the same situation. The four seasons of the year different from the* Europeans. *The beginning of the Spring the* 25*th. of* Septemb. *They have only three seasons of the year; the days and nights almost always equal. Their dawnings and evenings very short. The most impetuous wind, call'd a* Snake. *The two sorts of Whirl-winds,* Prestor *and* Typhon, *most raging and pernicious.*

IN so many and such various Regions, the Constitution of the Air is as various. In low and open places which the *Abessines* call *Kolla*, the heat of the Sun is intolerable, such as *Seneca* describes in these words. *The stones burn as if neal'd in the fire, not onely in the middle of the day, but also toward the evening, the Silver unsoders; the footsteps of men are impatient of the scorching sand. The fastening of the standard melts:*

No

No exterior covering of outward Ornament remains. In which respect both coasts of the *Red Sea* have but a bad report; as also the Islands, especially *Suaquena*, whose heat *Gregorie* many times us'd to call *Infernal.* For said he, it excoriates the *Skin*, *melts hard Indian Wax in a Cabinet*, *and sears your shoos*, *like a red hot Iron.*

But these Persons consider'd not the nature of those People, that inhabit that Country; much less have they weighed with themselves, the strange Patience of those that covet rule and dominion, who can endure the parching beams of the Sun, and willingly too, though unus'd to those immoderate violences of raging heat. However the ancient Philosophers were in a very great error that believ'd the (*m*) *Torrid Zone* unhabitable; or that the middle parts of the Earth, where the Sun continually moves, should be parch'd up with flames, and tosted with the raging fire. (*n*) Assuredly there are some Philosophers who deliver things uncertain and unprov'd for real and assured truths, and discourse in such a manner of the nature of the Air, the Heavens and the Stars, as if their residence had long been there. For that the Air is colder upon the Mountains, all Nations in their own Countries find by experience; but that the Air is cold of it self, and not warmed but by the repercussion of the Suns beams among the exhalations of the Earth, is the opinion of other sage Philosophers: which exhalations in the lower Region near the Earth rise more close and condens'd, in the upper parts, more thin and rarify'd; so that tho the lower parts frie with heat, high places freez, the cool nature of the Air not suffering any alteration through the defect of heat.

Therefore the higher you ascend the Mountains of *Ethiopia* from the coast of the *Red Sea*, the more temperate you shall feel the Air; insomuch that as *Tellezius* witnesses in many Regions of *Ethiopia*, the Summer heats are more mild then in *Portugal*, so many degrees distant toward the North. Nay there are some Mountainous Countries, as in *Samen* where the cold is more dreaded than the heat. Nevertheless there falls none or very little Snow in those parts, only a certain small sort of Hail sometimes covers the ground, which at a

(*m*) Aristot. Meteorotog. *L.* 2. *c.* 11. *and his followers.*

(*n*) *The* Spaniards *have a Proverb, he that is intent upon his own Interest, minds not inconveniences.*

distance

distance looks like Snow. It was a thing not known to *Gregorie*, for as I Travelled with him over the Mountains of *Tirol*, toward the end of *September*, seeing some Snow that had fallen a little before, crying out *Haritz*, *Haritz*, full of admiration, he called it Meal. From such a temper of the Air it follows that the Country must needs be healthy; and consequently the Inhabitants sane and vivacious, insomuch that some of them live to a hundred years of Age. Onely in *Tigra*, toward the beginning of the *Ethiopic* Spring, that is to say, in the Months of *September* and *October*, Feavers are very rife.

However this variety of the Air is the cause of most dreadful Thunders. Which when *Gregory* describ'd, he astonish'd his hearers. For upon the rising of several Tempests altogether, the Skie is of a sudden cover'd over with black and thick as it were Globes of smokie Clouds; by and by the Thunder breaks forth on every side, ratling continually, with Lightning as incessantly flashing, enough to amaze the most resolute and most accustom'd to the noise. Their Rains are very violent, powering from the Clouds not by drops, but as it were in streams. With those the torrents being swell'd, rowle along with that rapid fury, that they carry Trees and Stones and all things before 'em. All their Rivers overflow; and then the high ways being either covered with water, or else all mirie and dirtie, 'tis a most tedious thing to Travel: And this enduring three Months together renders their Winters very unpleasant. *Gregory* describ'd the *Ethiopian* Winter to me in these words.

" The *Ethiopian* Winters are not caus'd onely by the Rain " which falls from the Skie; for the Earth also opens her " mouth, and vomits up water. There is a Fountain in " every man's house, if it stands low. And therefore we " never Build inlow places, but in high grounds: So many and " so great Rivers, and Springs of water out of the Earth; " and such violent Rains are no where the like to be seen as " in our Country.

This tempestuous weather is so troublesome and tedious to Forraigners, that in a dispute which happen'd between an *Abessine* and an *Egyptian*, about the excellency of their Countries, when the first vaunted to the latter, the natural fertilitie of *Abessinia*, the temperateness of the Air, their double Harvests, and other benefits of the Country, adding withall

withall, That the *Egyptians* cannot live without the assistance of *Ethiopia*, in regard that *Nilus* fatten'd *Egypt* with the Mud of *Ethiopia*, without which, both Man and Beast would perish for want of Sustenance; the *Egyptian* retorted upon the *Abyssinian*, upbraiding him with the prodigious Showers, the rapid Torrents, the steep and rugged Mountains, and the dreadful Thunders that render'd the Country so unpleasant; upon which the Victory was allow'd on his side.

Nor does the season of the Winter keep the same Months, nor the same Temperature in all places alike, tho the situation may be the same; for it is not only milder in some places, sharper in others, but also in different Months from our Climate. Which was of old observ'd by (*p*) *Nonnosus*, Ambassador from the Emperour *Justinian* to the King of the *Axumites*, who travelling those Parts himself.

Μέχρι μὲν τ' Αυης, &c.

From the City of the *Adulites* as far as *Aüe*, the same Summer and Drouth affects the Air as with us. From *Aüe* towards *Axuma*, the Winter is very rigorous, &c. *Gregory* told me, That the Coast of the *Red Sea*, and all that two days Journey, from the Shore to the Mountains of *Ethiopia* the Winter keeps its Station in *November*, *December*, and *January*, as in *Europe*; but they differ nothing in the Degrees of Latitude. So that it is not always true what some (*q*) Geographers have written, That the *Periœci*, or those that dwell under the same Meridian, have the same Winter and Summer.

Now what the Winter of that Coast is, you may easily guess, from the answer of *Gregory*, who being ask'd upon a very sultry day, whether it were not very hot in *Germany*, made answer,

To day has been something hot: Such is the Winter in *Suaqena*, which is an Island upon that Coast.

Being ask'd concerning the Seasons of the Year, he answer'd,

(*p*) *In the History of his Embassy, some Collections out of which are to be seen in* Bibliothec. Photii. n. 3. p.m. 2.

(*q*) *See the Notes upon* Cluverius's *Introduction to Geography*, l. 1. c. 5. *and* Aristot. l. 2. de Meteorologic. *who without experience writes, That the Heat and Cold do not exceed in regard of the Longitude, but in regard of the Latitude.*

The Season *Matzau*, the Season of Flowers or the Spring.
The Season *Tzadai*, the Season of Harvest or *Autumn*.
The Season *Hagai*, or the Summer.
The Season *Crampt*, or Winter.

Thus he reckon'd the four Seasons: But there is not the same reason for them, nor the same benefits by them, as with us; nor could *Gregory* himself reconcile them with ours.

Matzau indeed may deservedly be call'd the Spring, because it succeeds the Winter, and covers the Fields with Grass and Flowers. It begins upon a certain day of the Month, that is, upon the 25*th* of *September*.

But the *Tzadai* of the *Ethiopians* cannot be call'd properly *Autumn*, as *Gregory* imagin'd; for it is the second part of the year that succeeds the Spring, and exhilarates the Husbandman with ripen'd Fruits, and therefore ought more truly to be call'd *Summer*. But how *Hagai* is to be interpreted, is a question; it is the third part of the year, yet cannot justly be call'd *Autumn*, in regard the *Habessines* are ignorant of any benefit they receive by it: They get no Vintage in, but are parch'd with extremity of Heat, and therefore they oppose this hottest time of the year to the sharpest Cold of Winter.

For which reason we rather ought to conclude, that there are but three Seasons among the *Abyssines*; that is to say, the Spring which begins upon the 25*th* of *September*. Then the Summer, which may be divided into two parts; the first, and the best, call'd *Tzadai*, which begins upon the 25*th* of *December*; and the last, and worst part, call'd *Hagai*, which begins upon the 25*th* of *June*, and ends upon the (*r*) succeeding Winter, which is the third part of the *Ethiopic* year.

The Days and Nights in that Climate, being in a right Sphere, are, for the most part, always equal. Their Dawnings and Evenings much shorter than ours. *Gregory* wonder'd, that it should be light when he could not see the Sun; and again, after Sun-set, that the Twilight should last so long. For there immediately after Sun-set it grows dark, and all the Stars, in the absence of the Moon, appear.

(*r*) Gregory *differs from our Poet one day, who puts it upon the* 26th.

The Winds, upon the Mountains frequent and pleasant, render the Air healthful and temperate; but in open and flat Levels, the Air, for want of motion, grows hot and unwholsom, especially in the Islands of the *Red-Sea*. This a certain Merchant attested, who carrying several rich *Indian* Commodities from the Port of *Suaqena* to the Court, and being ask'd by one of the King's Daughters, *What there was that could not be purchas'd at the Port of* Suaqena, answer'd, *The Wind*; that being only wanting in that place, otherwise a happy and pleasant Island.

But all Winds are not equally grateful or beneficial in *Ethiopia*, for there are some which are most impetuously violent; among the rest, the Whirlwind, called *Sendo*, which in the *Amharic* Dialect signifies a *Snake*, a Wind so furious, that it throws down all before it, Houses, Oaks, and Stones, and hurries them along in the Air. The *Belgioms* call this Wind Hoof, and report it frequent upon the Coasts of *Asia*, as they sometimes experience to the loss of their Ships. The Whirlwind by the *Greeks*, called *Typhon*, is that of which *Pliny* thus writes: 'A principal Plague to the Mariners, which 'not only throws down the Masts, but rives the Ship in pie-'ces. And again, 'The same Wind meeting opposition, 'carries all before it, and sweeps whate're it meets into the 'Air. *Gregory* affirm'd, it might be seen, and that it represented the form of a Snake, whose thicker part, like the Head, brushing upon the ground, the Body advanc'd it self in curls and windings to the Sky. Nor do I believe this Wind to differ much from that Wind which the *Greeks* call Πρηστὴρ (*Prester*), there being the same *Equivocal* in both; for that *Prester* signifies a kind of Serpent, and perhaps may be the same which the *Venetians* call *Bissaboba*, *Biscia* signifying a Serpent in *Italian*. Such a Whirlwind last *Autumn* happening in *Dalmatia*, swept into the Air, Men, Cattel, Carts and Horses laden with Hay and great Bells, if there be any faith in Report; and after the ruin of many Houses, Churches, Towers, and Palaces, left behind it the deplorable Testimonies of the havock it had made. *P. Organtino* of *Brescia* wrote from *Goa*, That a Whirlwind tos'd up several empty Ships from the Water into the Air, and carried them beyond the Shore: Which if it be true, those prodigious showers of Stones, Iron, and Bricks, are the less to be wonder'd at, if we may be allow'd to say, That the time has been when it rain'd Men, Ships, and great Bells. *Anno* 1679. *Plin. l.* 2. *c.* 56.

Chap. VI.

Of the high Mountains of Habeſſinia, *and Rocks of ſtrange forms.*

High Mountains. Lamalmona *moſt dangerous.* Amhara *and* Samen *the gibboſe part of* Abyſſinia; *higher than the* Alps *and* Pyreneans. *Steep Rocks of a wonderful ſhape, not to be aſcended without Ropes and Ladders. Spacious at the top. The Rock where the Kings Sons were formerly kept, deſcrib'd. A Rock in* Gojam *hollow'd like a Looking-Glaſs. Deep Abyſſes. Plains very rare, one great one in* Dembea. *The benefits of the Mountains, temperate Air, ſecurity and pleaſantneſs of the Fountains.*

ALL *Habeſſinia* is egregiouſly Mountainous: So ſoon as you have travell'd two days Journey from the *Red-Sea*, you muſt preſently climb the high Mountains of *Tigra*; amongſt which *Lamalmona* lifts up her head more lofty than the reſt, which they that travel to the Royal Camp in *Dembea*, are forc'd to clamber over: The Steps of which, if they may be ſo call'd, are ſo dangerous, and the Path or Track ſo narrow, that if Company meet, Men and Horſes giving the way, fall headlong into a bottomleſs Abyſs, never to be any more ſeen. But not only this Region is the Plain that ſeems as it were planted with Mountains, *Bagemdra*, *Gojam*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, and all the reſt, *Dembea* excepted, are but one continued Chain of Mountains. Among the reſt, the vaſt and high Mountains of *Amhara* and *Samen* are as it were the Emboſſment of *Habeſſinia*.

Here are many *Aorni*, or Rocks of an (*u*) incredible height and ruggedneſs, in ſo much, that, as *Tellezius* writes, they ſtrike a terror into the Beholders; the *Alps* and *Pyreneans*, compar'd with the *Abeſſine* Mountains, are but low Hills. The Mountains of *Portugal*, tho very high, are but trifles to them.

Amongſt thoſe Mountains, and frequently in the Plain it ſelf, and in the middle of the Fields, riſe up Rocks every

(*u*) *A Rock in* India *called* Aornos, *as being above the flight of a Bird.* Curt. 8. n. 2. *There are alſo Lakes of this name, but from another cauſe, for that the peſtilent Exhalations that they ſend up, kill the Birds that fly over them,* Plin. 2. 4. *by the* Latins *call'd* Averni.

way

way steep, yet varying their shape; some looking a far off like Towers, some like Pyramids, some like four-square Towers built by Art, and so even on the sides, as if the Workman's hand had done it so; so that there is no way to get to the top but by the help of Ladders and Ropes, by which means they Crane up their Cattel, and other necessaries: And yet so spacious at the top, that they contain Woods, Fields, Meadows, Fountains, and which is more wonderful, Fish-ponds, and all other conveniencies for humane Support. These sort of Rocks the Natives call *Amba*, as *Amba-Dorbo*, (x) &c.

This puts us in mind to describe that famous Rock in the Kingdom of *Amhara*, called *Geshen*, of which, and of the Mountain *Ambacel*, we have already made mention, which we shall do in the words of *Tellezius*. *In the Confines of* Amhara, *toward* Shewa, *stands* Amba-Geshen: *It is a Mountain almost impregnable, every way steep, prodigiously high, and in the form of a Castle made all of Free-Stone: At the top it is about half a* Portugal *League in breadth, at the bottom near half a days Journey about: At first easie to be ascended, then steep and rugged, in so much, that the* Abyssine *Oxen, that otherwise will clamber like Goats, must be cran'd up and let down with Ropes.*

Formerly those miserable *Ethiopic* Princes were here cag'd up in wild places, in low Cottages, among Shrubs and wild Cedars, starv'd from all things else but Air and Earth; as if they, who were descended from a high Parentage, were to be confind in a high and lofty Exile. In *Gojam*, as (y) *Kercher* tells us, from the Relation of *Peter Pays*, there is a certain Rock so curiously hollow'd by Nature, that afar off it resembles a Looking-Glass; and over against it another, on the top of which there is nothing that can be so softly whisper'd, but may be heard a great way off, and the reverberation of the sound is like the encouraging *Ho up* of Mariners.

Between these Mountains are immense Gulphs, and dreadful Profundities; which because the Sight cannot fathom, Fancy takes them for Abysses; whose bottoms *Tellezius* will have to be the Center of the Earth. Nor did *Gregory* de-

(x) *That is the Rock of the Hen, in the Map erroneously call'd* Ambadora.
(y) *In* Musurgia sua Univers. T. 3. l. 9. c. 6. *where instead of* Iches Pays, *read* Petrus Pays.

scribe

ſcribe them otherwiſe, than as places moſt dreadful and formidable to the Eye.

Levels are very rare; the largeſt Plain is that in *Dembea*, near the Lake *Tzanicus*, about twenty *Portugal* Leagues in length, and four or five broad.

A Region ſo Mountainous, and ſo like to *Switzerland*, may be look'd upon juſtly by all people as a moſt rude and unhuſbanded Country; but they that conſider the benefits which the *Habeſſines* receive thereby, will from the ſame reaſons be drawn to an admiring Contemplation of Divine Providence: For that ſtupendious height of their Mountains contemns the ſcorching heat; which renders their Country the more inhabitable in thoſe high places, where the people breath a more ſerene Air. In the next place, Heaven has thereby provided for their ſecurity, ſo many inacceſſible Mountains, being like ſo many Caſtles, which afford them not only Habitation, but a ſafe defence againſt their Enemies. For had it not been for theſe Fortreſſes of Nature, they had been ruin'd long e're this, by the *Adelenſes* and the *Gallans*. Moreover, thorough all thoſe Mountains you ſhall find moſt pleaſant Springs of Water, which are wanting in the Levels of the torrid Zone: The reaſon of which, we ſhall give you in another place.

Chap. VII.

Of Metals and Minerals.

Abaſſia *abounds in Metals and Minerals, eſpecially Gold, which is found in the Sand of the Rivers; and in* Damota *and* Enarrea *upon the Superficies of the Earth. Silver they have not, and yet not without Lead. They neither know, nor care to know, what belongs to Metals. Salt plentifully digg'd out of the Earth. Gems they want. They more eſteem black Lead, with which they colour their Eye-brows.*

THat ſo many and ſo vaſt Mountains afford plenty of Metals and Minerals, the Fathers of the Society atteſt. And certainly, 'tis a thing eaſily credible, that that part of the Earth, lying under the fierceſt and moſt maturing heat of the Sun, cannot be without Metals, and more eſpecially Gold, which is found in the ſhallows of Rivers,

vers, poliſh'd and pure in great quantities, about the bigneſs of a Tare or Vetch. Whence it is conjectur'd, that the Gold is brought to perfection in the neighbouring Mountains, and carry'd away together with the Sand, by the forces of the Stream. *Pliny* affirms that ſort of Gold to be the fineſt and moſt perfect. *Damota*, but more eſpecially *Enarrea*, enjoy this advantage, it being the chiefeſt Tribute which they pay. They are deſtitute of Silver; whether it be that Nature denies them that benefit, or that they know not how to dig it out and refine it: For they have Lead, which is ſaid to be the Mother of Silver.

But they are altogether ignorant of the Minery Trade. For the digging of Wells, boaring of Mountains, ſupporting of Mines with maſſy Timber, hewing of Stones, or forcing Rocks with Gunpowder or Fire, to live in the dark, ſometimes hours, ſometimes days together, and to be half ſtrangled with Smoke and Damps, to (z) ſearch the Vains of the Earth, and examin the Secrets of Rocks, are things altogether unſuitable to the Genius of the *Habeſſines*. Rather they count it a piece of folly to pine after Minerals, and heap up Riches, to encourage the *Turk* to make War upon them. They think themſelves far more ſafe in Iron, as being that with which Gold may be won: And for Iron, they have no occaſion to delve for it, in regard they find it in great plenty upon the Superficies of the Earth, as *P. Antonio Fernandez* teſtifies.

Moreover, in the Confines of *Tigra* and *Angora*, from a place call'd the *Land of Salt*, there (a) are natural Mountains of Salt, from whence they ſupply themſelves with inexhauſtible quantities, cutting it out of the ſides of the Mountains in great pieces of a white and ſolid Subſtance. In the Mountain it is ſoft, and ſliver'd off with little labour; but in the Air it hardens. From thence it is fetch'd by great numbers of Merchants, who conveigh it away in Caravans, which are call'd *Caſila*, and vended through all the neighbouring Nations and Countries where it is a ſcarce Commodity. *Alphonſus Mendez* the Patriarch, writes, That there is in another place a Mountain of Red Salt, very uſeful in Phyſic. So propitiouſly has Heaven compenſated their want of Money

(z) *Thus* Pliny *diſcourſes concerning Minerals.*
(a) *Concerning ſuch kind of Salt, ſee* Pliny, *l.* 31. *c.* 7.

with plenty of Salt; which by virtue whereof, as with ready Coyn, in other places they purchaſe other neceſſaries. Thus they abound in Salt, which the Life of Man cannot want; but they are deſtitute of other things that leſs conduce to the happineſs of Human Being. Nor do they deſire thoſe things, of whoſe dazling Beauties and glittering Colours they are ignorant; I mean Gems and Jewels, rarely yet ſeen in *Ethiopia*, whatever that ſame Trifler, *Valentinian* Romances. The Royal Diadem it ſelf glitters only with counterfeit Jewels, thinking it not worth their while to ſend their Salt or Gold to foreign and barbarous Nations to purchaſe true ones; and admiring at our imprudence, for expending our Money ſo idly. They much more eſteem thoſe Minerals, that conduce to the health and preſervation of the Body; chiefly among the reſt *Stibium*, or Black Lead, which they in their Language call (*b*) *Cuehel*, or *Cohol*, and believe it to be a great preſerver of the Sight; nor do they leſs eſteem it for Ornament, and to beautifie their Faces with it: For being powder'd, they mix it with Soot moiſten'd, and with a ſmall Pencil which they call *Blen*, beſmear their Eye-brows, according to the frequent and ancient cuſtom of the Orientals.

(*b*) *A word well known in all the Eaſtern Languages, from the* Hebrew *word* כחל, *which ſignifies* Stibium *from* כחל Fucavit, *or beſmear'd with* Fucus; *and whence the* Greek *word* Collyrium, *as it were* Cohollyrium, *ſeems deriv'd. The* Arabic *word* Elcohol *ſtill remains in the* Spaniſh *Language, wherein there is a Proverb,* Elpolve de las ovejas, Elcohol es para el Lobo; *The Duſt which the Sheep raiſe is a* Collyrium *to quicken the Wolf's ſight.*

Chap.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Rivers of Habeſſinia, *more eſpecially of* Nile, *its Fountains and Courſe; as alſo of the Lake* Tzana.

Many Rivers there more precious than Metals. The Fountains originally from Rain-water. An Encomium of Nilus: *In Scripture it is call'd, The River* Καὶ' ἐξοχήν, *and* Schichor, *or* Niger: *By ſome of the ancients* Aſtapus, *and* Aſtaboras: *In the* Amharic *Dialect call'd* Abawi, *or the* Parent of Rivers; *it flows not in* Paradiſe, *as ſome of the Fathers thought. Admiration caus'd the deſire of knowing its Original, that the Ancients plac'd in the Mountains of the Moon. The* Portugals *diſcover'd the true Fountains; their deſcription from* Peter Pays, *not different from* Gregories: *It riſes in* Sicut; *it has five Heads. It mixes with the Lake in* Dembea. *It paſſes by the principal Kingdoms of* Habaſſia, *encircles* Gojam, *runs through* Egypt, *and ſo into the Sea;* Gregories *Ethiopic Deſcription. He alledges, That all the Rivers of* Africa *fall into* Nile. *He limits that aſſertion. Some fall into the Sea. The true cauſes of the overflowing of* Nile. Jovius *blam'd. A double Channel of* Nile. Niger *the other Channel. The old Relation in* Herodotus, *explain'd. Whether the King of* Hebeſſynia *can divert the Courſe of* Nile. *Rivers ſuckt up in the Sand.* Zebeus *falls into the* Indian *Sea. The* Habeſſines *unskill'd in Navigation. The* Tzanic *Lake, with its Iſlands.*

BUT much more excelling, and far more precious Gifts of Nature than thoſe of Metals, flow from the Monntains of *Habeſſinia*, that is to ſay, ſeveral remarkable Rivers more profitable to the Natives, and the neighbouring Nations, than Gold it ſelf, ſo much the Subject of human Avarice. For the Rain-water ſoaking through the pores of the Earth, and the clefts of the Rocks, is receiv'd, and, as it were, ciſtern'd up in the hidden Caverns of the Mountains, where, after it has paſs'd through many ſecret conveyances of Nature, at length it meets with ſome hollow place, and breaks forth. Sometimes oppreſs'd by its own weight, it reaſcends, and ſeeks for paſſage at the tops of the Mountains themſelves; which is the reaſon, that in Countries where there is little or no Rain, there are few or no Fountains; but where there are frequent Rains, the Rivers are large and ſwelling: The Effect demonſtrating the

Cauſe. (*c*) But *Nilus*, owing to *Habaſſia* for its ſource, for plenty of Water, for ſweetneſs, wholſomneſs, and fertility of the ſame, excells all other Rivers of the World. In ſacred Writ, by reaſon of its Excellency, it is ſometimes
Iſa. 23. 3. call'd, The River abſolutely, and particularly שיחור, from its black Colour, and by the *Greeks*, for the ſame reaſon, μέλας, becauſe it runs with black a muddy Water. Some of the
Plin. 5. 9. & 7. 3. Ancients tell us, that it was then by the *Ethiopians* call'd *Aſtapus*, and that the left Channel of it about *Meroe* was nam'd *Aſtabora*, which others have underſtood concerning other Rivers that flow into *Nile*. But this we let paſs as obſcure and doubtful, whether meant of *Nilus* and our *Ethiopians* or no; for the *Habeſſines*, in their vulgar Language, have no other name for *Nile* than that of *Abawi*: And that, as ſome think, from the word *Ab*, which ſignifies a *Parent*, as if *Nilus* were the Parent of all other Rivers. But this derivation neither ſuits with Grammar, neither does (*d*) *Abawi* ſimply ſignifie a *Parent*, neither, if you rightly conſider it, is it agreeable to Senſe; for *Nilus* does not ſend forth from his own Bowels, but receives the Tribute of all other Rivers: So that he may be rather ſaid to be their Captain and Prince, than the Father of them. And therefore the *Egyptians*, out of a vain Superſtition, call'd him their *Preſerver*, their *Sun*, and their *God*, and ſometimes Poetically, *Parent*. In our *Ethiopic*, or the Language of the Books, this River is call'd *Gejon*, or *Gewon*, by an ancient miſtake from the (*e*) *Greek* word γεὼν, *Geon*, and that from the *Hebrew* word *Gihon*, becauſe it ſeem'd to agree with the Deſcription, *Gen.* 2. 13. which encompaſſes the Land of *Ethiopia*, whereas it only encircles *Gojam*, but only glides and paſſes by all the other Kingdoms of *Ethiopia*.

If you object, That *Gihon* had its ſource in the Terreſtrial Paradiſe; 'tis twenty to one, but that they extol their own Country for Paradiſe: For you muſt underſtand, that many

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(*c*) *No truer opinion concerning the Original of Rivers.* Ariſtotle *quotes it in his* Meteorologics, *l.* 1. *ſ.* 4. *c.* 1. *but without reaſon diſſents. Moſt* Neoterics *defend it. See* Iſaac Voſſius, *De Origine Nili & Fluminum. c. v.*

(*d*) *It is in the form of an Adjective*, Heavenly, Golden; *So* Abawi *ſignifies* Paternal.

(*e*) *For in the time of the* 70 *Interpreters it was ſo called, who render'd* Shichor, *Jer.* 2. 18. *where the Prophet ſpeaks poſitively of* Nile, γεὼν, Gihon. *The ſame you ſhall find in the Book of* Syras.

of

of the Fathers of the (*f*) Church were of the same opinion; which that they might defend, they brought the River *Nile* under Ground, and under the Sea, into *Egypt*, well knowing that no body would follow them thither, leaving their Readers to find out the way.

Certainly the Ancients never inquir'd so curiously into the Nature or Source of any River, as they did in that of *Nile*, neither were they ever so deceiv'd; for it was a thing altogether unusual for any other Rivers in the World to overflow in the most sultry Season of the year; an Inundation so wholsom and profitable to *Egypt*. So that the ignorance of the cause of it fill'd the minds of the Ancients with so much admiration, that both Princes and private Persons desired nothing more than to know the Head of that River, which was the Original of their Happiness; in so much, that there were some Emperours and Kings, who sent great Armies in quest of the satisfaction of their Curiosity, tho with ill success. (*g*) Most of the ancient Geographers, by meer conjecture, plac'd the Fountains of this River beyond the Equinoctial Line in I know not what Mountains of the Moon, to the end, they might deduce the cause of its swelling from the Winter Rains of those Regions: For they could not persuade themselves, that the Sun being in the Northern Signs, so much Winter or Rain could be so near to cause so great an increase of the Flood, tho there were (*h*) some who made it out plainly enough, but that Credit would not be given to them. (*i*) But by the Travels of the *Portugals* into *Habessinia*, and the sedulity of the Fathers, those Fountains and Spring-heads have been since discover'd, so long and unsuccessfully sought for by the Ancients. *Athanasius Kircher* has describ'd them from the Relation of *Peter Pays*, who view'd them himself. *In the Kingdom of* Gojam, saith he, *and in the Western Parts thereof in the Province of* Sabala, *which the* Agawi *inhabit, are to be seen two round Spring-Heads, very deep, in a place somewhat rais'd, the ground about it being*

(*f*) Theodoret, *in c.* 2. *Gen.* 9. 19. Austin, *l.* 8. de gen. *c.* 7. Abulens, *in c.* 2. Gen. 9. 15. & 26. 9. 2.

(*g*) *As* Cambyses, Alexander, Ptol, Philadelph. J. Cæsar, Nero, *&c.*

(*h*) *So* Pliny, *l.* 17. *c.* 18. *wherever Summer Rains are not as in* India *and* Ethiopia.

(*i*) Photin. in Bibl. *n.* 249. *in the Life of* Pythag. Agatharchides, Strabo, *and others. See* Vossius, *d. l. c.* 20.

quaggy and mershy; nevertheless the Water does not spring forth there, but issues from the foot of the Mountain. About a Musquet Shot from thence, toward the East, the River begins to flow; then winding to the North, about the fourth part of a League, it receives another River; a little farther, two more flowing from the East fall into it; and soon after, it enlarges it self with the addition of several other Streams. About a days journey farther, by the Relation of the same Peter, *it swallows up the River* Jema; *then winding Westward some twenty Leagues, it turns again to the East, and plunges it self into a vast Lake.* This Relation differs not from what *Gregory* has discoursed to me, only he particulariz'd the names of the Countries, that perhaps were the more special Denominations of those places, of which *Sabala* was the more general Name. For as he related to me, the Spring-head of *Nile* is in a certain Land call'd *Secut*, upon the top of *Dengla*, which perhaps is the name of a Mountain. He also affirm'd, that it had five Spring-heads, reckoning in the Heads of other Rivers, which have no particular name, and are therefore taken for the *Nile*. But it passes through the Lake *Tzanicum*, preserving the colour of its own Waters, like the *Rhosne* running through the Lake *Lemann*, and the *Rhine* through *Acronius*, or the Lake *De Zell*. Then winding to the South, it washes on the left hand the principal Kingdoms of *Habessinia*, *Bagemdra*, *Amhara*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, *Damota*, and takes along the Rivers of those Countries *Bashlo*, *Tzohha*, *Kecem*, *Jema*, *Roma*, and *Wancit*. Then on the right hand embracing *Gojam*, its Native Country, almost like a Circle, and swell'd with the Rivers of that Region, *Maga*, *Abaja*, *Aswari*, *Temci*, *Gult*, and *Tzul*, it turns again to the West, as it were bidding farewel to its Fountains, and with a prodigious mass of ramass'd Rivers, leaving *Habessinia* upon the right hand, rolls to the North through several thirsty Nations, and sandy Deserts, to enfertile *Egypt* with its Inundations, and there makes its way through several mouths into the Sea. For the more certain Demonstration of the Truth, it will be of particular moment to insert the Relation of *Gregory* himself, perhaps the first that was ever made public by an *Ethiopian*.

Epist. d. 20. *Octob.* 1657. *The Course of* Nile *is like a Circle; it encompasses* Gojam, *but so, that it never returns back to its Head, making directly to* Sennar. *And therefore* Gojam *lies always upon the right hand of* Nile; *but all the other Kingdoms of* Ethiopia, *as well those that*

lye near, as those at a distance, remain still upon the left. As it flows along, it takes in all the Rivers great and small with several Torrents, as well Foreign as Habessinian, which by that general Tribute, acknowledge him their King; who having thus muster'd together all the Waters of Ethiopia, jocundly takes his leave, and proceeds on his Journey, like a Hero, according to the Command of his Creator, to drench the Fields of thirsty Egypt, and quench the drowth of Thousands.

The Spring-head of this famous River first shews it self in a certain Land, which is called Secut, upon the top of Dengla, near Gojam, West of Bagemdra, Dara, the Lake Tzana, and Bada: Rising thus, it hastens with a direct course Eastward, and so enters the Lake of Dara and Bed, as it were swimming over it. Passing from thence, it flows between Gojam and Bagemdra; but leaving them upon the right and left, speeds directly toward Amhara. Having touch'd the Confines of Amhara, he turns his Face toward the West, and girdles Gojam like a Circle, but so, that Gojam lies always upon the right hand of it. Having past the Limits of Amhara, it washes the Confines of Walaka, and so on to the extream bounds of Mugara and Shewa. Then it slides between Bizama and Gonga, and descends into the Country of the Shankelites. Whence he winds to the right hand, and leaves by degrees the Western Clime upon the left hand, to visit the Kingdom of Sennar. But before he get thither, he meets with two great Rivers that plunge themselves into his Streams, coming from the East; of which one is call'd Tacazè, that falls out of Tigra, and the other Guangue, that descends from Dembea. After he has taken a view of the Kingdom of Sennar, away he travels to the Country of Dengula, and so comes to the Kingdom of Nubia, and thence turns to the right hand, in order to his intended Voyage for Alexandria, and comes to a certain Country which is call'd Abrim, where the Stream is unnavigable by reason of the Cliffs and Rocks; after which, he enters Egypt. Sennar and Nubia are seated upon the shore of Nile, toward the West, so that they may drink of his Waters; besides, that he guards their Eastern Limits, as far as he approaches near them. But our People and Travellers from Sennar, after they have cross'd Nubia, quit the River Nile, leaving it upon the right hand toward the East, and ride through a Desert of 15 days journey upon Camels, where neither Tree nor Water, but only Sand is to be seen; but then they meet with it again in the Country of Riffe, which is the Upper Egypt, where they either take Boat, or travel a foot in Company with the Stream.

But

But as to what he wrote concerning the flowing of great and ſmall Rivers into *Nile*, he explains himſelf in theſe words.

All great Rivers and ſmaller Torrents flow into Nile, *excepting only two: The one is call'd* Hanazo, *which riſes in* Hangota; *and the other* Hawaſh, *which runs near* Dawara *and* Fatagara.

But as if this had not been enough, he goes on with a farther Explanation in another Epiſtle, as follows.

But whereas I told you in a Deſcription of Nile, *that all the Rivers of* Ethiopia *flow'd into it except two, I am not to be underſtood, as if I ſpoke of all* Ethiopia. *For thoſe Rivers that are upon the Borders of the Circuit of* Ethiopia, *which are near the Ocean, they fall into the Sea, every one in their diſtinct Regions. Now the Countries adjoyning to the Ocean, are theſe*; Canbat, Guraghè, Enaria, Zandera, Wed, Waci, Gaci, *and ſome others.*

The Native Country of *Nile* being thus diſcover'd, the cauſe of his Inundation is manifeſt: For moſt of the Countries under the *Torrid Zone*, when the Sun returns into the Winter Signs, are waſh'd, as we have ſaid, with immoderate Showers. So that the prodigious maſs of Waters that randevouzes from all parts, cannot be contain'd within his Channel, and therefore when it comes into the Levels of *Egypt*, it preſently disburthens it ſelf. Thoſe Northern Winds, from their Anniverſary Breezes, call'd *Eteſiæ*, add little to the Increaſe. Tho ſome have written, That their forcing the Sea againſt the Mouths of the River, drives back the Waters of *Nile*, and augments the cauſe of the Deluge. A thing not likely, in regard they are the moſt temperate of all the Winds, and blow only in the day-time. Thus far indeed they may prevail, as they blow ſlacker or ſtronger, to render the Increaſe ſomewhat the more unequal, and that is all. Vainly therefore did many believe, that the Snow that melted from the *Ethiopian* Mountains, delug'd into the River *Nilus*; for them, that profound Tracer of Nature, *Seneca*, has ſolidly refuted. Which makes it a wonder that *Paulus Jovius* ſhould report the ſame, as what he had gather'd from the certain Conjectures of the *Habeſſines*; who at another time ſpeaks of the very ſame thing, *as a great Secret of Nature*, which no Man had ever div'd into; nay, he reproves it for weakneſs, with an oſtentatious Wit to be over diligently curious in the ſearch of ſuch matters.

Queſt. natural, l. 4. c. 2.

Yet

Yet tho the Fountains of *Nile* are known, the course of it is not so well discover'd to the *Habessines* themselves after it has left them. But the ancient and constant report is, that it does not fall (*p*) entire into *Egypt*, but that it is divided into two Channels, and that the right Channel runs to the North, as is well known; but that the left runs Westward, and keeping a long course, divides the Country of the *Nigrites*, 'till it fall into the Ocean. This the ancient *Egyptian* Priests were not ignorant of; for *Herodotus*, the foremost in History, after he has discours'd concerning the Springs of *Nile*, learnedly reports, That he had heard from an Auditor of the Money sacred to *Minerva*, That half of the Water of *Nile* flow'd Northward into *Egypt*, the other half Southward toward *Ethiopia*: Which none of our Geographers either observ'd or mended. But the *Nubian* Geographer puts me quite out of doubt, when he writes, *Clim.* 1. *Part.* 4.

And in this part of Ethiopia *are the two* Niles *parted*; that is, *Nilus* which waters our Country or *Nubia*, directs his Course from South to North, and most of the Cities of *Egypt* are seated on each side of his Banks, and in his Islands. The other part of *Nile* flows from the East toward the West, and upon this part of *Nile* lies the whole Country of the *Nigrites*, or at least the greater part of it.

A little after he adds concerning a certain Mountain; *And near to that, one of the Arms of* Nile *turns off, and flows to the West*: And this is the *Nile* that belongs to the Country of the *Nigrites*, many of their Provinces lying upon it. But near the Eastern side of the Mountain, the other Arm turns off, waters the Country of *Nubia*, and the Land of *Egypt*, and is divided in the *Lower Egypt* into four parts, of which three fall into the *Syrian* Sea, and the other empties it self in a Salt Lake which is near to *Alexandria*. The words are every way most clear; and very probable it is, That the separation of the two *Niles* might be caus'd by the resistance of some rocky Mountain that constrain'd the two Streams to part, since they could not undermine it. To which, the words of *Leo Africanus* relate; *The Region of the* Nigrites, *through which* Nilus *is said to flow*: Which seem to intimate, that he had heard something by report concerning this same *In Descript. Afric. l.* 1. *c.* 7.

(*p*) Jul. Solin in Polyhist. *c.* 43. *The* Ethiopians *and* Atlantic *Nations are divided by the River* Niger, *which is believ'd to be a part of* Nilus.

left

left Channel. Nor am I a little confirm'd by the judgment of *Gregory*, which he expreſſed to me by writing, in theſe words.

But as to what is reported, that Nile *does not flow altogether and entirely into the Land of* Egypt, *but that it is divided another way. This all thoſe perſons of whom I have enquir'd, averr to me to be truth. This I alſo encline to believe, for ſhould it deſcend entirely thither in the Winter time, the* Egyptians *could never be ſafe in their Houſes.* But as to what concerns its ſeparation, they ſay, That Parting happens after the River has paſs'd by *Sennar* in the Country of *Dengula*, before it arrives in *Nubia*: However, they ſay, That the greateſt maſs of Water flows into *Egypt*, and that the ſeparated part runs directly to the weſtern Ocean; yet ſo, that it comes not into *Barbary*, but deſcends toward the Country of *Elwah*, and ſo throws it ſelf into the weſtern Ocean.

Now that the River *Niger* ſhould be the left Channel of *Nile*, is moſt probable from hence, for that as *Pliny* writes, l. 5. c. 8. and Experience confirms, it *partakes of the ſame Conditions* with it, agrees in colour and taſt of the Water, it produces the ſame ſort of Reed, the ſame ſort of Papyr, and the ſame ſort of Animals; and laſtly, encreaſes and overflows at the ſame Seaſons. Neither does the Name it ſelf contradict the Conjecture, in regard that, as we have ſaid, *Nilus* it ſelf is by the *Hebrews* and *Greeks* call'd *Niger*. But as to what the *Egyptian* related to *Herodotus*, That the left Channel flow'd toward the South, that perhaps might be for ſuch a certain diſtance of Land, not but that afterwards it might vary its Courſe, and wind toward the Weſt. Which opinion, after I had communicated to the moſt famous *Bochart*, ſo highly skill'd both in the ancient and modern Geography, and the beſt Judge of theſe matters, he wrote me in anſwer, *Il eſt tres vray, que le Niger eſt une partie du Nile; Moſt certain it is, that* Niger *is a part of* Nile.

Now follows a Queſtion, no leſs admirable than it is of moment; *Whether it be in the power of the* Abyſſine *Kings ſo to divert the Court of* Nile, *that it ſhould not overflow* Egypt? Many Writers aſſert the Affirmative, truſting partly to Fame, and partly to a Relation, which we ſhall produce out of *George Elmacine*; adding, That the *Turks* therefore pay a Tribute to the *Abeſſines*. Others alſo upon the ſight of the Geographical Map, believe it a thing eaſie to be accompliſh'd, to turn

the

the Stream of *Nilus* into the *Red-Sea*; which *Albuquerquez*, that magnanimous *Portugueze*, Viceroy in *India*, was contriving to do. However (*r*) *Tellezius* denies it feasable, to turn the Course of such an immense mass of Waters, for so vast a space of Earth, through so many steep and rugged Rocks; and that the Course ordain'd by the Prince of Nature, is no way to be alter'd. Of the same opinion are (*s*) *Hornius*, and others; but they make no mention of *Elmacinus*: Perhaps they never read, or never consider'd his words, which we shall here expose to the Readers view, taken from the *Saracenic* History.

'In those days, that is, in the days of *Michael* the Patriarch, 'Nilus fail'd extreamly; *Mustansir* therefore, a *Mahumetan*, 'Prince of *Egypt*, sent him to the Country of the *Habessines*, 'with costly Gifts, and other things of high value. Where-'upon the King of the Country came forth to meet him, 'whom the Patriarch reverenc'd publicly. After that, the 'King demanded of him the cause of his coming. Then 'the Patriarch made known to the King, how that the Wa-'ters of *Nile* fail'd in *Egypt*, to the unspeakable detriment of 'the Land and Inhabitants. Thereupon, in favour of the 'Patriarch, the King commanded the Channel to be open'd, 'through which the Water ran into *Egypt*, which was then 'stopp'd up. Which being done, *Nilus* encreas'd three 'yards in one night, and the Rivet was so fill'd, that the 'Fields of *Egypt* were water'd and sown. So that the Patri-'arch return'd with great Honour into *Egypt*.

I could wish to hear the opinions of those that deny this place. The words are clear of themselves, that the King commanded the Channel that was stopp'd to be open'd. The Historian himself is accounted a credible Author, bred and born in *Egypt*, as also Secretary to the *Mahometan* Princes of that Country. So that he could not possibly be ignorant of such an accident; and besides, he wrote his History above a hundred and twenty years after the thing happen'd: And therefore had it been an untruth, he durst not have mention'd it for fear of being contradicted, which he might easily have been. But it may be objected, That the Historian does not

(*r*) Alf. d'Albuquerque, *in Comment. ejusd.* part. 4. c. 7. *as* Tellez *alledges*, p. 20.
(*s*) *In Orbe imperante. tit.* Africa. Period 2. Sect. 2.

mention by whom the Channel was obstructed, or whether it happen'd, as many times it does, naturally, when the course of a Stream is damm'd up by trunks of Trees, Mud and Stones driven by force, and heap'd together in the narrow passages of the Water. But this Objection does not resolve the doubt; for such remarkable stops rarely or never happen in such large or violent Rivers. Or if Nature could effect so much, what might not be accomplish'd by Art? *Athanasius Kircher*, a person not only generally vers'd in the Affair of *Egypt*, but more particularly in what related to the River *Nile*, in his Catalogue of the Patriarchs of *Egypt*, relates, That one (t) *Michael* was sent into *Ethiopia*, for the restoring of *Nile* to its Channel, from whence the *Ethiopians* had directed the Course of its Waters; tho it be the fault of that learned Man to write much, rather than accurately; nor does he always commend his Authors. The Question being put to *Gregory*, he did not remember the Story of *Michael*, but that he had heard from persons of great Credit, That not far from the Cataracts of *Nile*, all the Land toward the East lies level; and unless it were for one Mountain that stands in the way, *Nile* would rather flow that way, than into *Egypt* or the Northern Sea. So that if that Mountain were digg'd through, a thing to be done with pains and difficulty, the Course of the River might be turn'd and carry'd into the *Red-Sea*; which is well known to the *Turks*, and many of the *Portugals*: And for this reason have the Emperours of *Ethiopia* obtain'd those advantagious Conditions from the *Saracens*. Nay, it is said, That once one of the *Ethiopian* Emperours had an intention to have done it, and had commanded his Subjects to undertake the Work, but that he was prevail'd upon to desist at the entreaty of the *Egyptian* Christians.

I must confess, this thing has very much perplex'd my thoughts; nor are the Reasons that are brought against it to be contemn'd: For either to raise a Mole or Dam of Stones, and then to remove it again, are things requiring so much toyl and labour, that the Task does no way agree with the nature of the *Abessines*. And it seems somewhat unlikely, that so vast a River, so long accustom'd to a declining and

(t) *In Supplement. Prod. and Lexic. Capt.* p. 524. c. 2. *This* Michael *was the* 68th *Patriarch of the* Jacobites, *and dy'd about the year* 1110.

head-

headlong Course, should be diverted and compell'd to change its Channel. I consider'd also with my self, that if the King of *Habessinia* had the River *Nile* so much in his Power, he might have all *Egypt* easily at his Devotion, and that the *Turk* could deny him nothing whatever he demanded. Nor would he ever suffer the Christians of his own Religion, and the Patriarch, who is the Head of his Church, to groan under such a miserable Bondage. Lastly, I did not a little wonder, that the Jesuits did not insinuate it into the heads of the *Abessines* to make use of that Power which Nature had put into their hands, and that they did not use Threats, rather than Intreaties and Bribes to obtain those conveniencies which they enjoy by the favour of the *Turkish Bassha*, who commands the Ports of the *Red-Sea*. But all things consider'd, and rejecting the History of *Elmacine*, we may answer *Tellez* from the Relation of *Gregory*, which is, That a new Channel may be carry'd on, not from those parts of *Abessinia*, which lie upon the *Nile*, and are so many Leagues distant from the Sea; but from that part which is near the Cataracts, and formerly perhaps belong'd to *Nubia*. My first Opinion was, That the Channel of *Nile* could no where be so easily alter'd as in that place where it divides it self into two Channels, for that there, by the direction of Nature her self, it seem'd, that the whole might be more easily turn'd another way, where a part turns naturally without compulsion. For tho other Rivers empty themselves into *Nile* beyond this separation, and flow into *Egypt*, yet are they not enough to make the Inundation so great as necessity requires; which would not only be the ruin of *Egypt*, but a great diminution of the *Turkish* Power. But however it be, this I believe to be certain, That the King of *Habessinia* is now no more Lord of those places where the River *Nile* ever was, or ever can be diverted from *Nile*; nor are the Princes of those places now at his Devotion; neither are they indeed *Christians*, but unhappily revolted to *Paganism*. So that whatever formerly might have been done, cannot now be brought to pass; not that the nature of the place obstructs the design, but that the Prince of the Country wants Power, or else has no inclination to the Project. Otherwise I should not think it either absurd or improbable, that some Rivers that make their way through the high Fields of *Habessinia*, might be convey'd another way by the descents of the Hill, through

the ſandy Levels that lye below to a vaſt diminution of the *Egyptian* Stream, provided that skilful Artiſts were employ'd to ſurvey the declivities of the places, and the places moſt proper to carry off the Water. For though it be a difficult thing to alter the Courſe and Limits of Rivers, which Nature has ſettl'd, yet Examples are not wanting. We read in *Herodotus*, That *Nitocres* King of the *Babylonians* turn'd the Courſe of *Euphratis* ſeveral ways, by ſinking ſeveral new Cuts and Dikes. And *Cyrus* King of the *Perſians*, being in wroth with the River *Gyndes*, by reaſon of one of the Sacred white Horſes drown'd therein, divided it into a hundred and ſixty ſmall Streams, the Summer's labour of his whole Army.

L. 1. *call'd* Clio.

But there are other remarkable Rivers that owe for their Springs to *Habeſſinia* beſides *Nilus*. Of theſe the moſt famous is *Tacazè*, which riſing in *Angota*, not far from *Bagemdra*, out of the Mountain *Abguaga*, divides *Tigra* and *Walkajit*, and ſo paſſing through the *Ethiopian Nomades*, and the Kingdom of *Dequin*, at length falls into *Nile*. *Melegi*, according to *Tellez*, takes its riſe in *Damota*, and falls into *Nile* weſtward of *Habeſſinia*. As for the other Rivers, ſufficiently large, which *Nilus* receives from all the Kingdoms of *Habaſſia*, we have ſet them down in our Chorographical Table, and therefore forbear to name them here.

All theſe Rivers, as well as *Nile*, in the Winter time ſwell to that height, as not to be contain'd within their own Banks.

Nor muſt we omit the admirable nature of two more Rivers, of which the one call'd *Hawaſh*, riſing in the Confines of *Shewa* and *Wed*, haſtens into the Kingdom of *Adel*, to quench the drought of thoſe thirſty Soyls. Nor are the Inhabitants wanting to themſelves; they gladly go to meet their welcom Gueſt, and bring it in ſeveral large Cuts to water their Grounds. And thus being frequently intercepted, and waſted by degrees, as if aſham'd to carry a ſmall portion of Water to the Sea, it plunges it ſelf into the Sand. In imitation of this, the other River *Mareb*, riſing in *Tigra*, not far from *Fremonia*, encompaſſes a great part of that Kingdom; then falling into the Kingdom of the *Cafers*, as if the Stream diſdain'd that Nation, it hides it ſelf for a long ſpace under ground; yet not ſo, but that it affords both Water and Fiſh to them that dig eight or ten ſpans deep, and at length di-

ſperſes

sperses and leaves its divided Waters in the miry Fields of *Dequin*.

As for those Rivers that fall into the neighbouring Ocean, *Gregory* remember'd no more than those already recited. *Zeb* rising in *Enarea*, and embracing the adjoyning Kingdom of *Zenderò*, from whence it turns to the South, and near to *Mambasa* is thought to fall into the *Indian* Ocean. For as for the *Abyssines* themselves, they are utterly ignorant of Navigation, in regard that the Rivers being full of Rocks and Cataracts, will not admit of it; nor have they any Ports upon the *Red-Sea*. Only upon the Lake *Tzana*, which they call the Sea of *Dembea*, they make use of little Cock-boats made of thick Water-torch, or Cats-tail, tho with great hazard and jeopardy to themselves. It is situated on this side the Equinoctial Line, in the thirteenth Degree and a half of Latitude. The length of it is thirty, the breadth twelve *Portugal* Leagues, or somewhat (x) less. It contains many Islands, of which the biggest is

1. *Tzana*, from whence the Lake derives its name, for from thence it is call'd *Bahr-Tzana*, or the Sea of *Tzana*. (y)
2. *Berghida*.
3. *Dabra-Antons*: The Monastery of *Antony*.
4. *Dabra-Marjam*.
5. *Daga*.
6. *Dek*, famous for the Exilement of great Men.
7. *Galila*.
8. *Mecrahha*.
9. *Metzlè*.
10. *Qebran*.
11. *Rima*.

All which Islands, *Dek* excepted, are possess'd by the Monks. There are also other Lakes in *Habessinia*, but it is not of any importance to name them. But since we have given an account of the true Rivers, let us not omit that Fabulous Stream, which they will have to run between *Prester John*, and their own Country-men, found out among the Figments of the *Jews*. They call it *Sabbation*, or the Sabboth

(x) R.T. *says, where longest*, 35 *Leagues*. Pet. Pays *allows it* 14 *in breadth. It is more largely describ'd by* Kircher, *in his Oedipus*. Synt. 1. c. 7. p. 57.
(y) *In some Maps* Barcena, *but ill plac'd*.

River,

River, becauſe it never runs upon that (z) day; but upon the other days of the Week ſo rapid, that it carries all before it. And therefore their Religion, they ſay, forbids them to viſit their Brethren on the other ſide; as if they could not ſend ſome perſon of another Religion to bring them News from that Region, or were unwilling to put their Pidgeons upon that Employment. With ſo frivolous a fiction do they endeavour to comfort themſelves for the loſs of their Kingdom: Ignorant where this River riſes, or where it ends, whether in *Aſia*, in *Africa*, or in *Utopia*; nor do they trouble themſelves to enquire how thoſe miſerable Souls got thither, or how they ſhall get out, ſhould that unfortunate River deny them paſſage upon a Calm day. Yet the Story is ancient, tho not of any River in the extream parts of *Aſia* or *Ethiopia*, but of a River in *Judea*. For *Pliny* writes of a River in *Judea* which us'd to be dry'd up every Sabboth day. *Joſephus* (a) alſo makes mention of it, and unleſs it be corrected, in a plain contrary ſenſe. He reports, it was obſerv'd by *Titus* the *Roman* Emperour, as he march'd along. But the later *Jews*, more cunning at Invention, leſt it ſhould be found no where, have plac'd it in a corner of the World where no body ſhall find it.

An Addition to part of this Chapter.

What *Gregory* tells us briefly concerning the Fountains of *Nile*, *Tellez* more at large recites out of the Relations of the Jeſuits, agreeable to thoſe things which we have produc'd out of *Peter Pays*: In the twelfth Degree of Northern Latitude, to the Weſt of *Gojam*, in the Kingdom of (m) *Sacabala*, there is a certain Field, and in that Field a certain Lake fill'd from two Fountains, about a Stone's caſt diſtant one from another. From them, through a Subterraneal Channel (which yet the verdure of the Graſs betrays) the Water flows eaſtward for about a Muſquet ſhot; but by and by bends to the North, and about half a *Portugal* League farther, burſts forth into a River; and being ſoon after that enlarg'd with the addition of other Streams, after a Courſe of 15

(z) *Conſult*, Buxtorf's *Lexicon concerning this word.*
(a) *Of the Wars of the Jews*, l. 7. Nic. Fuller, *Miſcel. Sacr.* l. 1. c. 9.
(m) *So write for* Sabala.

Leagues,

Leagues, the River *Gema*, bigger than *Nilus*, loſes its Name, and gives *Nilus* the honour of her Torrent. Then inſenſibly winding to the Eaſt, and receiving two Rivers more, *Kelti* and *Branty*, it haſtens (*n*) directly for *Dembea*, which it glides through preſerving its own Waters entire, as if diſdaining to mix more noble Waves with a viler Puddle. Theſe things are all deliver'd by content, that there may be no farther reaſon to doubt of the Fountains and Original of *Nilus* for the future.

(*n*) *A Lake by others call'd the* Tzanic *Lake.*

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of the Fertility of the Soyl in general, and of the Vegetables and Plants in particular.

In Habeſſinia, *ſometimes two, ſometimes three Harveſts.* Tef, *a ſort of Corn unknown to us. They want Rice; deſpiſe Oats; feed their Horſes with Barley; Graſs always; no Hay; ſundry ſorts of Herbs.* Amadmagda *cures broken Bones.* Aſſazoi *intoxicates Serpents. The ancient* Pſylli *ſafe by the vertue of this Herb. Oyl of Saffron. They want Hops. Grapes they have, but no Wine. They abound in Sugar; want Spices. The* Indian *Fig,* Manz; *perhaps the* Dudaim *of the* Hebrews. *No Pears nor Apples. Citrons,* &c. *they have. Their Trees. Enſete, a Pot-herb. Another Tree that kills Worms in Children.*

THE fertility of the Soyl in *Habeſſinia* is to be admir'd; for the Land where it admits of Tillage, abounds in all ſorts of Fruits. The long Summers affording that extraordinary plenty, that in the ſame place you ſhall find Seed-time and Harveſt; which is in ſome places double, in other places threefold. For Grain and Pulſe the *Habeſſines* have not only thoſe known to us, as Wheat, Barley, Millet, and the like; but alſo another ſort unknown to us, which they call *Tef*, which makes very good Bread: The Seed of it is extreamly ſmall, leſs than Pepper, but longer. Rye they have none: Yet when *Gregory* ſmelt to a Rye Loaf, he ſaid, It was the true *Tef*, and that it had the true ſmell of *Tef*. He look'd upon Oats as not worth ſowing, ſaying, It was no better eſteem'd than Cockle in their Country: For that Barley or Graſs only was the general Food of their Horſes. They neither ſow nor mow, for the ſake of their Cattel; Graſs abounding in the more temperate places; by reaſon of the perpetual heat, and the moiſture continually diſtilling from the Mountains: For the ſolid Stones not admitting the Rain, the Water falls off from them, and ſpreading under the fertile Turf, wonderfully recreates and enlivens the growing Plants. For which reaſon, the Fields are always pleaſing and verdant, always ſmiling with a flowry Grace. From whence an extraordinary ſuperfluity of Honey, the Trees being ſo plentifully fed. In the midſt

of

The Herb and Fruite Called in Hebrew Dudaim. Gen. 30. 14. and Cant. 7. 13. In the Arabic language Mauz, or Muza The Indian Figg.

1. *The Herb it self growing like a tree.*
2. *The ripe fruit, 40 or 50 upon one stalke.*
3. *One Figg to the full proportion.*
4. *The young shootes that spring from the root of the tree every yeare.*

of such abundance, the *Habessines* neither lay up, nor provide against the years ensuing, whether trusting to their Plenty, or destitute of Store-houses. They never stack their Hay; tho for the sake of the Locusts it many times falls out to be very necessary. For that same pestilent Vermin devouring Corn and Grass, occasions frequent Famines, destructive to Man and Beast. *Grtgory*, observing afar off certain Cart-loads of Hay, compar'd them to Elephants at a distance.

Herbs of all sorts grow in this Country, not only the fragrant and medicinal Plants of *Europe*, but some more peculiar, and of admirable vertue. The *Amadmagda* cures broken and dis-joynted Bones, contrary to the *Ossifraga* of *Norway*, which snaps the Bones of Cattel that tread upon it. The Herb *Assazoe* is of that rare vertue against the biting of *Asps*, that the most hurtful Serpents touch'd with this Herb, are streight intoxicated, and lye for dead. He that eats of the Root of this Herb, may walk without danger in the midst of Adders and Water-Snakes, and for many years shall be free from the fear of them: In so much, that some of the *Habessines* have been seen, after they have eaten of this Root, to handle the most venomous Snakes like Eels, twist 'em about their Necks; and then to kill 'em, when they had done shewing tricks with 'em. So Providence ordering the most efficacious Remedies where the Poysons are most pernicious. Which makes me believe that it was not a thing peculiar, or a particular faculty in the *Psylli*, an ancient People of *Africa*, that they could cure the biting of Serpents, but got by the use of this Herb; only they kept the thing secret to render themselves the more admired. For they made a Trade of it, by carrying Venemous Animals about the World without danger, for the sight whereof, the more curious gave them Money. *Garden Saffron*, which the *Ethiopians* call *Denguelet*, is frequent in *Habesinia*; the Seed of it *Gregory* shewed me for a great Rarity: and cryed up the Oyl which was to be pressed out of it, against the *Hypocondriacal Evil*, and *Obstructions of the Spleen*. They want Hopps, and boyl their Drink without it. And therefore *Gregory* finding, that it was the vertue of the Hopps, which kept our Drink so long, took great care to carry some of the Seed along with him into his own Country. Their Vine and Grapes are most Transcendant, but they never make any Wines, whether out of ignorance, or because the Grapes being ripen'd in Summer, the excessive

heat haſtens the fermentation and ſowers the Liquor before the Lee be ſetled. They abound in Sugar, but as for Pepper, Ginger, and other ſuch like Spices they have none; rather out of careleſneſs to Plant, as I believe, than through the fault of the Soyl; which conſidering the variety of the Air, and the continual heat of ſome Places, ſeems moſt proper for ſuch a ſort of Husbandrie. The Indian Figg alſo, which the *Arabians* call *Muz* or *Mauz*, grows plentifully here, a moſt Excellent Fruit it is; and you ſhall have fifty Figgs, about the bigneſs and ſhape of a Cucumber hanging upon one ſtalk, of a moſt delicious odour and taſte. They are ripe in *June*, as I learnt from the Itinerary of Prince *Radzevile*, who had ſeen ſome of them near *Damaſcus*, where they are rare; for they require a hotter Climate. Which Circumſtances make me believe, that this ſame Fruit may be the דודאים *Dudaim* mention'd in *Geneſis*, which occaſion'd ſo much diſcontent between the two Wives of *Jacob*. Soon after I obſerv'd that many others, Learned Men, lighted upon the ſame Conjecture, though they do not give their Reaſons. For in my Opinion, it ſhould be ſome rare and pleaſant Fruit, that ſhould move the Boy to gather it; yet not ſo much a Boy neither, as to think it worth his while to carry home a ſtinking *Mandrake*, which could be a fruit little worth contending for. Beſides, *Rachel* might have ſent her Servant as well to have gathered Amiable Flowers, (as ſome render the Word) that is to ſay, Lillies, Violets, or the like. And beſides the *Hebrew* word ſeems to confirm this Opinion: as being in the *dual* Number, and ſeeming to infer a relation of more than one Fruit to one and the ſame Stalk.

Apples and Pears, ſuch as grow in our Climates, they have none. For at what time they Ripen with us, Storms and Tempeſts rage in *Habeſſinia*. For the Trees, as I have heard the Habeſſines acknowledge, obſerve our Seaſons, ſprout forth and ſhed their Leaves in the ſame Month with ours; but with the Plants it is otherwiſe, which Flower there in our Winter. However, they have Pome-Citrons, Abricots, Peaches, and Pomegranates, rip'ned to their full and due Perfection. *Gregory* admired to behold our Woods of tall Firrs, ſome ſeventy, ſome eighty Foot high; and often call'd them *Arbores benedictas*, bleſſed Trees: eſpecially, when he heard how uſeful they were towards the building of Ships and Houſes. However we do not find but that *Ethiopia* has

its

its ſhare of tall Trees, as well as other Countries. But the Tree which goes by the Name of *Enſete*, is not to be paſs'd over without Admiration; being like that which bears the Indian Figg, two fathoms in thickneſs. For being half cut down, it renews again by means of innumerable ſhouts that ſpring again from the remaining Trunk, all which is fit to be eaten; ſo that there is no need that the Tree ſhould bear any other Fruit, it being all Pot-herb of it ſelf. For being ſlic'd and boyl'd it aſſwages the Thirſt of the common ſort of People, who bruiſe the Leaves and boyl them with Meal, and then eat the Compoſition inſtead of a Haſtie-pudding. There is another Tree which *Godignus* praiſes, moſt excellent againſt the Worms in the Belly: a Diſtemper frequent among the *Abeſſines*, by reaſon of their feeding upon Raw Fleſh. For remedy whereof the *Habeſſines* Purge themſelves once a Moneth with the Fruit of this Tree, which cauſes them to Void all their Worms.

Chap. X.

Of Fourfooted Beasts.

Oxen of a stupendious bigness; the Cause. Bull-Elephants; their Horns. The Heards of Africa. *The Graziers of* Bek. *Generous Horses, of various Colours; Horses for War. Mules for other occasions; taught to amble by Art. Camells onely useful in level Grounds. The ponderous tails of their Sheep: in Sacred Writ,* אליח Alja. *Flocks of Elephants: They lay the Countrey waste, make High-ways, they fodder upon Trees; Docible: they observe the Laws of Hospitality. The* Habessines *more properly call those things Horns which we call Teeth: they never make any attempt upon Man: they are careful of their* Proboscis: *none tame in* Ethiopia. *The* Camelopardalis, *why so called? the name in* Arabic *in the* Amharic *Dialect.* Zecora, *the most lovely of Fourfooted Beasts; described, high priz'd. The Lyon Magnanimous, a Terrour to other Beasts. Tygers and Leopards more truculent: how they differ. Wolves Slothful. The* Hyæna *Cruel. Flocks of Apes; they greedily devour Emmets, they devour Fruit but warily; they are a Prey to the wild Beasts, they Defend themselves wonderfully. The Cercopitheculus concerning which, a Rythme in three Languages. Whether the Callitrix of the Ancients.* Arvvè Haris *the Unicorn, seen by* John, Gabriel, *and other* Portugals: *the Ancient Descriptions of the Unicorn various. Many Unicorns, no Bears, but Harts, Boares, and wild Goates.*

BY reason of the Plenty of Grass, and the perpetual heat of the Country, 'tis not to be wondred at, that the Beasts should be larger and fuller grown in those Countries than in other Regions. Their Cows are of an unusual bigness, far exceeding those in *Russia* and *Hungaria*. The biggest that I could shew to *Gregory*, he called *Middle-siz'd*; for where there is Milk and Fodder sufficient, the body easily enlarges after the Birth, and extends it self by reason of the heat, which proves to be quite contrary in the Northern
L. 17. *c.* 45. Climes, which justifies *Elian* in his Relation, concerning the *Ethiopic* Bulls, that they were twice as big again as ours; and this put me in mind of the Bull-Elephants, of which,
L. 3. 11. *Philostorgius* Writes, that he had seen them at *Rome*, brought out of the *Southern* Countries: for it is not to be thought that a Bull twice as bigg as ours differs much in Magni-
L. 8. *c.* 45. tude from an Elephant. And what *Pliny* reports concerning the *Indian* Oxen, which he relates to be as high as Camels:

Book 1. Chap: 10.
P. 53.

An Eastern Sheep drawing his fatt Tayle in a Cart weighing 40 pound weight or More.

Another sort of Sheep whose fatt Tayles are very heavy by which the Sheep mention^d Exodus. 29. 22. Levit. 7. 3. and 9. 19. are said to be meant.

mels, I rather believe, should be taken for those of *Abissinia*. For that *Habessinia* was by many of the Ancients comprehended under the name of *India*. And that Oxen so large should wear vast Horns, four Foot broad, is as probable altogether, as *Pliny* relates in the same place.

Africa was formerly Famous for the Heards and Droves of Cattle fed therein; and at this time there are some Nations that support themselves meerly by Grazing: of this sort are the *Bektences*, not far from *Suaquena*, who in the *Summer* Inhabit the Mountains; in the *Winter* spread themselves upon the Plains, changing their Seats as the Tempestuous Seasons varie, and settling where they find most Fodder for their Cattel.

Their Horses are courageous and strong; but they never make use of them, unless it be in Battel, or when they run Races; so that they never take care to shooe them: for if at any time they cannot avoid passing through Stony and Rocky passages, they lead their Horses, riding themselves upon Mules. They are of various Colours, as our Horses are; bright Bay, Sorrel, Cole Black, Roan, *&c.* but most commonly Black. *Elmacin* reports, That *Cyriacus* King of *Nubia* brought into *Ægypt* an Army of a Hundred thousand *Blacks*, all mounted upon Black Horses. *Gregory* pitied our Horses, when he saw them drawing great Carts; admiring at the Patience of the Beasts: and our Cruelty, in putting so Noble and Warlike a Creature to such base and servile Exercises. And therefore the *Abissines* make more frequent use of Mules, as well to carry their burthens, as when they travel long Journeys; for no sort of Beast treads more safely in their rugged ways: and for the greater ease of the Rider, they teach them sometimes to Amble. It was very troublesome to *Gregory* when he travell'd, to ride a Horseback; especially, if the Horse either Trotted or Gallopp'd: a vexation which he frequently complained of.

Camels are never used but in the plain Country, for they tread upon the Sand though scalding hot, without any harm to their Feet; but in Mountainous and Rocky ways, they are altogether useless.

That same sort of Sheep also, so much admired and so well known, both in the *East*, and in *Africa*, is here very common; the Tayls of which are so fat and ponderous, that the least of them weigh Ten and Twelve, the biggest of them

them ſometimes above forty Pound, ſo that the Owners are forc'd to tye a little Cart behind them, wherein they put the Tayl of the Sheep, as well for the convenience of Carriage and to eaſe the poor Creature, as to preſerve the Wooll from durt and naſtineſs, and being torn among buſhes and ſtones. And it is a probable conjecture that *Exodus* ſpeaks of this ſort of *Exod.* 29.22 *Ram*, where *Moſes* commands, among the reſt of the fat parts of the *Ram of Impletions* that were to be cut off and burnt, the Tayl of the *Ram* אליה *Aljah* to be cut off for the ſame purpoſe; For that the Word *Aljah* ſeems to import as much, which ſignifies only the Tayl of a fat *Ram*, נחב or *Nahab* being the general word for the Tayl of all other Beaſts; among which, the leaner ſort of Sheep like ours are included. (*b*) As for other tame Beaſts, they have the very ſame as are to be ſeen common in theſe parts of the World.

But as for Wild Beaſts, *Abiſſinia* breeds more, and more bulkie than any other Region: of which, we ſhall give a ſhort account, beginning from thoſe which appear moſt Monſtrous in their Creation. In the firſt place *Elephants*, conſpicuous for bulk of Body and Docility, heard together in the Plain and Woody places in great Numbers. *H. Lodowic Azevedez* ſaw in *Tigra* a hundred of them together differing in Bigneſs; and he atteſts, that as great a Number went but a little before them. (*c*) But it is almoſt incredible to be told, what a havock they make in the Fields and Woods: they will ſhake Trees bigger then themſelves in Bulk, ſo long, till either their Trunks break, or the whole Tree be torn up by the Roots, as with an Earthquake. Smaller Trees they ſnap off about a hands breadth from the Ground. As for ſhrubs and underwoods, and all ſorts of fruit Trees, they either eat 'em up, or trample 'em under their feet. *Gregory* was wont to ſay, That they open'd *High-ways*, and where they had gone before, Travellers would rather chooſe to follow, as being leſs cumberſom. But leaſt Food ſhould be wanting to ſuch Maſſie Creatures, Providence has provided: For in thoſe Places there grow certain Trees about the bigneſs of Cherry-Trees, full of Pith, like Elder; upon which they ban-

(*b*) Bochart *in* Hierozoico. *L.* 2, *c.* 45. *p.* 494.

(*c*) *This number may eaſily be believed by them who ſhall read* Nennoſies *in Bibliothec.* Photii, *n.* 3. *Where he writes of* Elephants, *no ſmall Number near five thouſand.*

quet,

banquet, as upon Grass. Of all the dumb Beasts, this Creature certainly shares the most of Human Understanding: kind usage excites their Ambition, contumely fires their Revenge. Of which many Examples are extant among the Writers of Natural Historie. *Gregory* told us, that where they like their Entertainment, they are very punctual in observing the Laws of Hospitality; though one of the Females would have serv'd her Host but an ugly trick after her departure from her Lodging. This Elephant had brought forth a Young one, in a certain Field which her Landlord had sow'd with Corn; who willing to dislodge such an unwelcome Guest, had resolv'd to kill the said Elephant: his Neighbours dissuaded him, assureing him, that the slaughter would not be unreveng'd; but on the other side, that she would defend his ripe Harvest against all others, and therefore advis'd him to let her alone, till she had brought up her Cubb; but withal, so soon as she had done that, forthwith to reap his Harvest. The Husbandman following this Counsel, preserv'd his Harvest untouch'd, suffering no other Injury than what the Beast spoil'd in her passage to and fro. After the Female had carryed away her young ones from that Place, the Husbandman by the help of his Neighbours got in his Harvest with all speed. The next Night the Elephants came in Troops, with an intention to have Supp'd with their Landlord before their departure, but found the Table taken away, and the Buttery Empty. The People of the Country aver, that they are not their Teeth, but their Horns of which the Ivory is made; and indeed, their substance and situation demonstrate the same thing: for they grow out of the Head and not out of the Jaws: and besides that, they only adorn the brows of the Males; the Females like our Does have none at all. The Elephant never offers to attempt upon any person, unless provok'd; if he be threatn'd with sticks or cudgels, he hides his *Proboscis* under his Belly, and goes away braying; for he is sensible it may be easily chop'd off: the extream parts of it being very nervous and tender, which causes him to be afraid of hard blows. At the end of it three little sharp pointed Langets come forth, by the help of which, he can take up the smallest thing that is, as men do with their fingers. They never take care to tame them here, where there is no use of them, either in Peace or War, among so many high Mountains.

The next is, the *Camelo-pardalis*, or *Panther-Camel*, which is

not

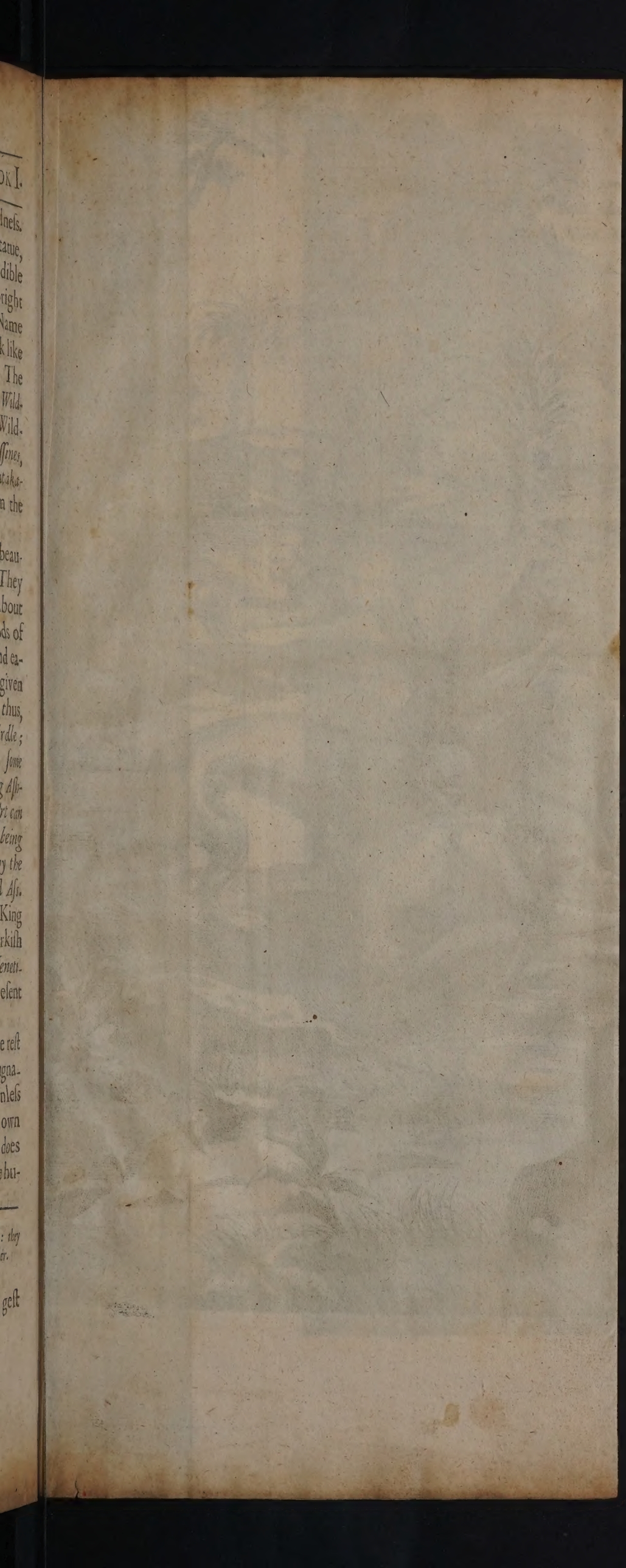
and bulkie as the Elephant, but far exceeds him in tallneſs. For this Beaſt is ſo very high, that a man of a juſt Statue, reaches but up to his knees, ſo that it ſeems very credible what is reported, That a Man on horſeback ſitting upright on his ſaddle, may ride under his Belly. He derives his Name from hence, that he has a long Head, and a long Neck like a Camel, but a Skin ſpotted all over like a Panther. The *Romans*, when they firſt beheld this Beaſt, called it a *Wild-Sheep*, tho being more remarkable for its Aſpect, then its Wildneſs, or Fierceneſs; as we read in *Pliny*. By the *Abiſſines*, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of his Tayl, he is call'd *Jerataka-ein*; that is, *ſlender Tayl*: by the Italians *Giraffa*: from the Arabian word *Zucaffa*.

But there is a Beaſt which is called *Zecora*, which for beauty exceeds all the Four-footed Creatures in the World. They of *Congo* give it the Name of *Zebra*. This Creature is about the bigneſs of a Mule, and is brought out of the Woods of *Habeſſinia*, and the Countries poſſeſſed by the *Galans*, and eaſily tam'd. A preſent of great eſteem and frequently given to the Kings of *Habeſſinia*. *Tellez* briefly deſcribes him thus, *A Circle of a black Colour encompaſſes his Loyns like a girdle; adjoyning to which, Nature has pencill'd out ſeveral others, ſome broader ſome narrower, ſome black, and ſome of a bright ſhining Aſh-Colour; with ſo much Elegancy and Order, as no Painters Art can equalize. His Eares are the only thing that disfigures him; being of a disproportionable length: for which reaſon he is called by the* Portugals *Burro do Matto, (though improperly) the wild Aſs.* But you may gueſs at his beauty, by his price. For King *Suſneus* having given one of theſe Beaſts to the Turkiſh *Baſha* of *Suaqena*, he ſold the ſame for Two thouſand *Venetian* Pieces, to a certain *Indian*, that bought him for a Preſent to the great *Mogul*.

The Lyon, tho he excel in fierceneſs and cruelty all the reſt of the wild Beaſts; yet he ſhews a certain kind of Magnanimous reſpect to Man. For he never injures him, unleſs he be ready to Famiſh, ſo that he do not betray his own (*d*) fear. But there is hardly any other Creature that does not tremble when he either hears or ſees a Lyon. The hu-

(*d*) Solin. *in his Polyhiſt.* c. 17. *al.* 40. *allows them many marks of Clemency: they ſooner aſſail Men then Women; they never kill Infants, unleſs pinched with hunger.*

geſt



A Description of the APES.

1. Scrambling about the Mountains
2. Remoueing great huge Stones to come at the wormes.
3. Sitting upon Ant Kills and deuouring the little Creatures
4. Throwing Sand or dust in the eyes of wild beast that came to sett upon them.

geſt Bulls are ſo terrified that they tremble every joynt, unable to contain their Urine: and yet the *Habeſſines* will venture to Encounter him. *Tellez* relates a ſtory of a Shepherd, who kill'd a Lyon, that was eight Cubits in length from Head to Foot, without the help of any other Weapon then two *Javelins*. They alſo uſe to tame their Whelps, but there is no truſting to their Education.

Tygers and *Panthers* are much more Cruel and Fierce then *Lyons*, for they never ſpare Mankind: yet they covet the *Ethiopians* before *White-men*, as more accuſtomed to that ſort of Dyet. Theſe two Beaſts differ only in (*e*) Colour; for the *Panthers* are brown ſpotted with black: the *Tigers* gold-Coloured, with fine black Spots, like Fiveleav'd Graſs: they are Beaſts of a dreadful celerity and boldneſs; by Night they break into Villages, and make doleful Maſſacres among the poor innocent Cattle: yet *Alvarez* affirms, That theſe Butcheries never happen in *Midra-Bahrà*.

As for their *Wolves*, they are ſmall and lazie, ſuch as *Africa* and *Ægypt* bred in former times, as *Pliny* teſtifies: But the *Hyæna*, or the *Crocuta* neer akin to the *Wolfe*, is the moſt Voracious of all their wild Beaſts; (*f*) for ſhe not only by Night and by ſtealth, but openly and in the day time Preys upon all ſhe meets with, Men or Cattle, and rather then fail, diggs down the walls of Houſes and Stables. *Gregory* deſcrib'd her to be ſpeckl'd, with black and white ſpots. *L.* 8. *c.* 22.

Of *Apes* there are infinite Flocks up and down in the Mountains themſelves, a thouſand and more together: there they leave no ſtone unturn'd. If they meet with one that two or three cannot lift, they call for more Ayd, and all for the ſake of the Worms that lye under; a ſort of Dyet which they reliſh exceedingly. They are very greedy after *Emmets*. So that having found an Emmet-hill, they preſently ſurround it, and laying their fore Paws with the hollow downward up-

(*e*) Panthers *and* Tygers *are the only Beaſts remarkable for the variety of their Spots, ſaith* Pliny; *L.* 8. *c.* 17. *In which place, the* Panther *is taken for the* Leopard; *but when the* Panther *is oppos'd to the* Leopard, *then it is to be taken for the* Tygre. *For the Antients have not accurately enough diſtinguiſhed theſe Beaſts, as being very much like to one another, and very rarely or never ſeen together. They knew there were two ſorts of Beaſts, but to which to give the true name, they either knew not, or very much doubted.*

(*f*) *Begot between a* Hyena *and a* Lioneſs: *familiar to* Ethiopia. *See* Solinus *c.* 65. *and* Salmatius *upon him.*

on the Ant-heap, as fast as the Emmets creep into their treacherous Palmes, they lick 'em off with great comfort to their Stomachs: and there they will lie till there is not an Emmet left. They are also pernicious to fruit and Apples, and will destroy whole Fields and Gardens, unless they be carefully look'd after. For they are very cunning, and will never venture in till the return of their Spies, which they send always before; who giving Information, that all things are safe, in they rush with their whole Body, and make a quick dispatch. Therefore they go very quiet and silent to their Prey; and if their young ones chance to make a noise, they chastise them with their fists, but if they find the Coast clear, then every one hath a different noise to express his joy. Nor could there be any way to hinder them from further Multiplying, but that they fall sometimes into the ruder hands of the wild Beasts, which they have no way to avoid, but by a timely flight, or creeping into the clefts of the Rocks. If they find no safety in flight, they make a vertue of necessity, stand their ground, and filling their Paws full of Dust or Sand, fling it full in the Eyes of their Assailant, and then to their Heels again.

But there is another sort of Creature very harmless, and exceeding sportive, call'd in the *Ethiopic* Language *Fonkes*, in the *Amharc* Dialect *Guereza*, (which is a kind of *Marmoset*) and in *Latine Cercopitheculus*. Of which the following Rhime is common in several parts of *Ethiopia*.

I put no Man to pain,
I eat not his Grain,
They hate me in vain.

They are varie-Colour'd, and skie-Colour'd mixt with gray: *India* breeds them white, and beautiful; but so tender, that unless they be wrapt very warm, and carry'd in your bosome, they cannot be brought into these Parts. Whether it be the *Calli-triches*, or *Fair-hair* of the Ancients, I leave to others to judge. Of them, after a Discourse of *Apes*, thus *Plinie*, The *Calli-tricks* differ in the shape of the whole Countenance. The Beard is in the midst of the face, the Tayl is broad in the fore-part; This Creature they say, lives no where but in the *Ethiopian* Climate where it was bred. *Solinus* hath the same words, only adding; *To catch these is easie, to bring away very difficult.*

Besides these, *Gregory* nam'd to me another sort of Beast, both

The Ethopian Fonkes, in the Amharic dialect calld Gueteza.

A sort of little Animal of the Kind of those which the Hollanders call Danguinen. It seems to be the Callithrix or fair-haire of the Ancients.

Wee thought fitt to call it Cerlopitheculus or Galeopitheculus, The marmoset with a tayle or a Capp

5

Flocks of Elephants that lay waſt whole Forreſts.
a Corn feild defended by a She Elephant.

Book. 1. Chap: 10. page 58

5

both Strong and Fierce, call'd *Arweharis*, from the Arabic *Hariſh*, or *Harſhaw*, which ſignifies with one Horn. This Beaſt reſembles a *Goat*, but very ſwift of Foot; whether it be the *Monoceros* of the Ancients, which as *Jeronimus Lupus* reports, is found in *Habeſſinia*, I leave to the Scrutinie of others. Many skilful Authors look'd upon this Four-footed Beaſt as a kind of *Chimera*, conſidering the idle Relations as if it could not be taken alive; that it was a Beaſt compos'd of two Creatures of different Forms: as if Writers were framing Fables concerning ſome Errour of Nature. However the *Portugals* tell us, that the Report was not altogether vain. For one of them was ſeen by *John Gabriel*, whom we have already nam'd, in the Province of the *Agawi*, in the Kingdom of *Damota*; it was a Beaſt with a fair Horn in the Fore-head, five Palmes long, and of a whitiſh Colour, about the bigneſs and ſhape of a middle ſiz'd Horſe, of a Bay Colour, with a Black Main and Tayl, but ſhort and thin (though ſome have been ſeen with longer and thicker) a lively Creature, haunting the thickeſt Woods, and ſeldom appearing in the Fields. And leſt there ſhould be any doubt of the Truth of the thing, there was a young *Colt* brought to one of the Fathers of the Society, who was an Eye-witneſs of the reality of the thing. Moreover, ſeveral *Portugueſes*, who were baniſh'd by the Emperour *Adamas Saghed*, into a certain high Rock in the Province of *Nanina*, which is a part of *Gojam*, have atteſted, that they ſaw ſeveral ſuch *Unicorns* feeding in the Woods that lay under the ſaid Mountain. From whoſe Relations *John Bermudes*, and *Lodowick Marmolius* made their Reports concerning (*i*) this Beaſt. The Deſcription of the *Portugueſes* ſeems moſt agreeable to Truth: For what the Ancient and Modern Writers have written concerning (*l*) *Unicorns* are ſo confus'd, that ſome things have reference to the *Monoceros*; other things to the (*m*) wild *Stag*, or wild *Goat*, ſomethings to the wild *Indian Aſs*; and other things in reference to the *Groinland*-Whale, or

(*h*) Plin. *L.* 8. *c.* 39. Solin. *in Polyhiſt. c.* 30. *al.* 43.
(*i*) *In his Relation Tranſlated into* Engliſh; *Tit. a ſhort Relation of the River* Nile.
(*k*) *By* Bochart *in* Hierozoico. *L.* 3. *c.* 26.
(*l*) *At large by* Bochart, *in the place already cited.*
(*m*) *In the relation of* Paulus Venetus *concerning the* Unicorn *in* Java *the leſs. L.* 3. *c.* 15.

Nahrwhale; ſo many Beaſts were required to form this *Chimæra*: however there is no queſtion to be made, but that there are many *Unicorns* up and down the World. Only there is ſtill ſome Controverſie remaining, what thoſe Beaſts ſhould be, of which the Scripture makes mention; in regard that all Interpreters, after the Seventy Seniors, agree, that the *Hebrew* רים or ראם, *Rim*, or *Reem* was a Beaſt altogether unknown to the *Iſraelites*. The *Ethiopic* Interpreter, whether ignorant of that Beaſt in *Ethiopia*; or believing ſome other Creature to be thereby underſtood, renders the Greek *Monokeros*, the *Beaſt with one Horn*. The moſt famous *Bochart* tells us, That the Arabian *Rim*, is a ſort of wild *Goat*; or which ſeems more probable to me, a kind of wild *Bear*. The Word *Dek* in the *Arabic*, and *Deb* in the *Hebrew* Language, are the two words that ſignifie a *Bear*: yet is that Beaſt unknown in thoſe Parts. *Pliny* alſo Affirms, That there are no *Bears* in *Africa*: But as for *Boars*, *Harts*, and *Goats* they are granted to breed there, as in other places; contrary to *Pliny's* Opinion: unleſs he may be thought to ſpeak only of *Africa* properly ſo call'd.

Numb. 23. 22. & 24. 8.

L. 3. *c.* 27. & *l.* 6. *c.* 12.

L. 8. *c.* 36. *L.* 9. *c.* 28.

Chap. XI.

Of Creatures Amphibious, and thoſe that live only in the Water.

The River-Horſe, *whence his Name: the* Behemoth *of* Job: *pernicious to Corn. Boars, and Men; frightned with fire; why taken. The* Crocodile. Job's *Leviathan. The* Angueg *deſcribed. Many Fiſh. The wonderful Nature of the* Torpedo. *A cure for Feavers, and the Gout: touch'd with a wand it waxes num it ſelf.*

WE ſhall now Treat of Amphibious Creatures, and ſuch as live altogether in the Water. Among which, the firſt is that Monſtrous Beaſt call'd *Hippopotamos*, or the *River-Horſe*: in the *Ethiopic* Language *Bihat*, in the *Amharic* Dialect, called *Gomari*, (*n*) a vaſt

(*n*) *So correct* Bochart *in* Hieroz. *l.* 5. *c.* 15. *for* Bicht. *and* Gomar.

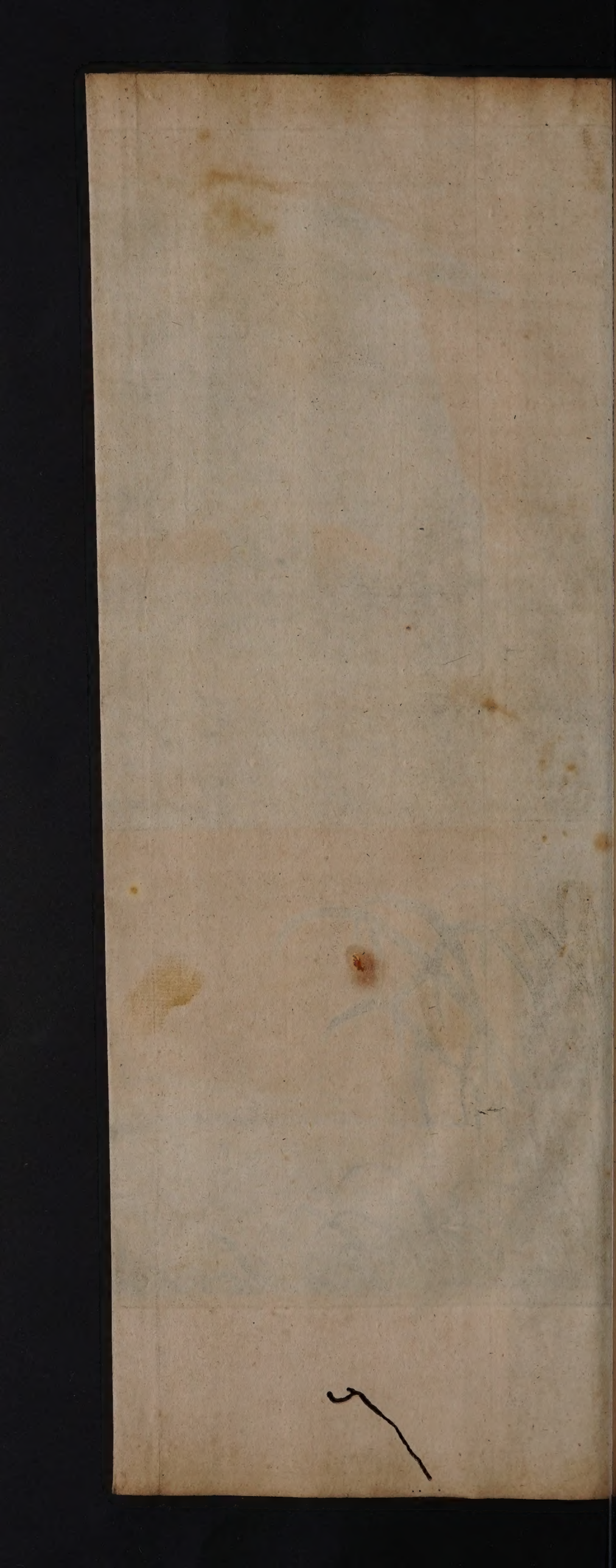
Bulk

The Behemoth Job the . 40 . 10 .

Hippopotamos The Sea Cow

or the River Horse By ÿ Italians

The sea Horse putting up his head a boue the water,
thence calld the river Horse by the Greekes.



Bulk of Fleſh, and of a Prodigious Strength. The Greeks when they invented that name for him, beheld only his Head above the Water; for his Snowt, Noſe, and eſpecially his Ears are like to thoſe of a Horſe. But the ſhape of his (o) Body and Feet is altogether different; and beſide that, he wants a Mane; (p) as appears by the Picture: for he has very ſhort Feet, and a ſhort Tayl, a rough Skin without any Hair; and for bulk, twice as big as an Oxe. (q) This is that Beaſt, which *Job* deſcribes by the name of *Behemoth*, making uſe of an old *Egyptian* Word; of which many end in *Oth* in the ſingular number. And that as *Bochartus* learnedly teaches, was the Language that firſt taught the World. Nor does *Job*'s deſcription diſagree from that of the *Hippopotamos*, if compar'd. There are many of them in the Lake of *Tzana*, which infeſt the Neighbouring Fields, to the great dammage of the Corn. They overturn ſmall Boats, which renders all paſſage by Water very unſafe to the Inhabitants, in regard they lye in wait for the Men themſelves. They are afraid of Fire, as are moſt wild Beaſts (r) with which alone a Child may ſcare them. Some poor People there are that make it their livelihood to hunt them, and feed upon their Fleſh. Their Skins being very thick, are employ'd for ſeveral uſes, eſpecially, to make Shields.

His Companion the *Crocodile* is much more miſchievous, which however does not frequent the ſaid Lake, ſo much as the River *Tacazè*, that flows as we have ſaid into the River *Nile*. This is that which *Job* calls the *Leviathan*, as many Learned Men have (s) obſerved; to whom *Bochart* alſo gives his conſent. c. 41.

Water-Lizards are very frequent every where, and thoſe very large. Among which, there is one ſort call'd an *Angueg*, deformed to look upon, with a ſharp Tail, and that ſo ſtrong, as to be able almoſt to cut a mans Thigh in ſunder; and therefore by the *Italians* call'd, *Caudi-verbera*. To me it ſeems

(o) *Thus* Tellez *Writes, They are rightly called Horſes, for that their Noſes and Ears are much alike.*

(p) *Otherwiſe than* Plinie *thinks, who makes them to Neigh. L.* 8. *c.* 25.

(q) *The* Italians *conſidering the vaſtneſs of his Bulk, call him* Bomarin, *or the* Sea-Oxe.

(r) *Even* Lyons *themſelves.* Solin. Polyhiſt. *c.* 27. *al.* 40. *And therefore the* Abyſſines *keep Fires all Night next the Gates of their Towns.*

(s) Beza, *and* Diodati, *as* Bochart *alleadges. c.* 15.

to be the *Waril* of the *Arabians*, and the *Coahh* of the *Hebrews*, and to have deriv'd its name from *Coahh*, which ſignifies *ſtrength*. *Bochart* has a more copious Deſcription of it: but that which follows *Gregory* gave me.

Levit. 11. 30.
L. 4. *c.* 3.

The *Angueg* lives in the Rivers; but when he comes forth, he feeds upon the Graſs; he is Four-footed, very deformed: ſhap'd like a Dragon, without any hair. His Tayl is ſharp like a Sword, ſtrong enough to cut a Mans thigh in two; as big as a Cat, but ſlenderer.

But ſetting theſe ſtrange Creatures aſide, the Lakes and Rivers abound with Fiſh; even thoſe that run under Ground: as we have already related concerning the *Mareb*.

Among the reſt, the *Torpedo* is very remarkable, frequent in *Africa*. The *Hollanders* (*t*) call it *Fitterfiſh*, or the *trembling Fiſh*. For it is of that Prodigious Nature, that if it be touched with the hand, it ſtrikes a moſt intolerable Trembling into the Members. This (*u*) *Peter Almeyda* the Jeſuit experimenting, paid for his knowledge. The *Habeſſines* cure *Quartan* and *Tertian* Agues with it. The manner thus, the Patient is firſt to be bound hard to a Table, after which the Fiſh being applyed to his joynts, cauſeth a moſt cruel pain over all his Members; which being done, the fit never returns again. A ſevere Medicine, which perhaps would not be unprofitable to thoſe that are troubled with the Gout, in regard ſome ſay that Diſeaſe is to be Cured by Torment. Thoſe *Ethiopians* would certainly believe it, who affirm, That the Vertue of this Fiſh will diſpoſſeſs a man of the Devil himſelf. And yet if you touch this Fiſh with a Spear or Wand, the ſinews of it, though very ſtrong, preſently grow numb; and the Feet of it, though otherwiſe a ſwift runner, lye as if they were bound, as *Plinie* reports. Which Modern Writers alſo Teſtifie to be no untruth.

(*t*) O. Dapper *in his Deſcription of* Africa.

(*u*) *They ſhewed him ſays* Tellez, *meaning* Almeyda *the Fiſh, called in Latine* Torpedo, *which he had no ſooner taken in his hand, but immediately he felt ſuch a cruel pain in his hand and Arme, that he threw it preſently away again, not able to endure ſuch a tormenting Experiment. More ſee in* Godignus. *L.* 1. *c.* 11. *See the Author himſelf. L.* 9. *c.* 42.

CHAP. XII.

Of Birds.

The Struthiocamel, *and the* Casawaw, *swifter than Horses; frequent in* Africa; *a great enemy to Doggs: the flesh of it good against Poyson. The* Ibis *and* Ophiomachus *kill Serpents. The* Pipi *betrays the wild Beasts to the Fowlers: the same Bird in* Guiny. *No tame* Geese. Gregory *wondred at his lying in Feather Bedds. No* Cuccows *nor* Eagles. *The* Ruch *and Birds of* Condora *Fabulous.*

AS the largest Four-footed Beasts are found in the Regions and Seas of *Habessinia*; so do also the largest Fowl breed in the same Places. Though indeed, they may not properly be call'd Birds, for that they never rise upon the Wing, as the *Struthiocamel* or *Ostrich*, and the *Casawaw* or *Casuarius* next to him in Bulk. However, the swiftness of their Feet compensates the slowness of their Wings; they being able to out-run a Horse upon his full speed. As for the *Ostrich*, he is so well known, that he needs no further description. The *Casuarius*, or *Casawaw* is a Bird frequent in *Africa*: by the Inhabitants of *Guiney* call'd *Eme*, but the *Habessines*, and particularly those of *Tygrá* give it the name of *Casawaw*, denoting thereby the Bulkiness of the Body. But for the *Tinshemeth* or *Mergus*, or as others Interpret it the *Swan*, mention'd *Deut.* 14. 16. The *Abessines* are in an Errour to mistake it for this Bird. For that is no more than the Greek Κύκνος or *Cygnus* in Latine, which perhaps they had heard by report was bigger than all other Birds: this Fowl has a great antipathy against Doggs, which she eagerly pursues though with hazard of her Life. I had a young one sent me out of *India* which was kill'd by a Mastive; but the Skin I still preserve. The Flesh of the Fowl whether new or smoak'd is made use of in Remedies against the biting of Serpents, which was found out by observing how eagerly they devour them without harm. But Providence has not provided one single Enemy to their Serpents only. For the Egyptian *Ibis*, and the *Ophiomachus*, from his continual Enmity to those Vermine, call'd in the *Amharic Dialect*, the *Serpent devourer*, make great havock of those Venemous Creatures. So that *Africa*, though it breed most pernicious Animals, yet it affords most excellent Remedies against those Mischiefs.

And

And indeed, ſome of thoſe Birds ſeem to be granted to Man for the Extirpating the Enemies of their well being, which becauſe they cannot vanquiſh themſelves, they betray to thoſe that they think more able. For there is a little Bird, by thoſe of *Tygra* call'd from the Noiſe which it makes *Pipi*, which, ſtrange to tell will, lead the Hunters to the Places where the Wild Beaſts lye hid: never leaving their Note of *Pipi*, till the Hunters follow them, and kill the diſcover'd Prey. *Gregory* related to me, *That as he was walking with one of his acquaintance, an Inhabitant of* Tygra; *this Bird cry'd* Pipi *over their heads; thereupon, underſtanding the meaning of it from his Friend, he reſolv'd to try the Truth of the Story. The Bird conducted them to a ſhady Tree, about the boughs of which, a Monſtrous huge Snake had Curl'd her ſelf; at the ſight whereof, he and his friend made more haſt back again, then they did in coming to ſatisfie their Curioſity.* And indeed, it is not ſafe to follow this Bird, unleſs a man be provided with all his Hunting Inſtruments: nevertheleſs, the Bird has her own ends in her double diligence too: for ſhe is ſure to have her ſhare of the Slaughtered Carcaſe whate're it be. Nor is this Bird to be found only in *Habeſſinia*, but alſo in *Guiny*, in the Kingdom of *Quoja*, where they give it the Name of *Fonton*, being about the bigneſs of a Larke, where it is reported to betray not only wild Beaſts, but alſo Serpents and Bees.

They have no tame *Geeſe*: and therefore *Gregory* obſerving a Flock of *Geeſe* once driven along by their Keeper; *pleaſantly demanded of me, Whether thoſe Birds were obedient to their Keeper?* to whom, when I reply'd *yes*; he asked me a ſecond time, Whether if they flew, the Keeper flew too, and whether before or behind? but when I told him what profitable Birds they were, he extoll'd them for bleſſed Feather-bearing birds; eſpecially, when he had layn upon their ſoft Down at the Caſtle of *Gota*. For he had never layn upon a Feather-bed before he came into *Germany*: So that he thought that the *German* beds ſwelling with light Down, had been blown up with the Wind. But he Admir'd that the *Germans* were arriv'd at that height of delicacy, that Men ſhould ſtoop to ſo much Effeminacy as to lay themſelves, where it was only fit for Children, and Women in Child-bed to lye. For he did not believe they would eaſily take the Field, unleſs their ſoft beds followed them. As for other *European* birds, they have moſt of them: and for their Water Fowl

I have nothing to relate worth Remark. By the way, I have this further to add, That there are neither *Eagles* nor *Cuckows* in all these Parts; and therefore they tell Stories and Fables of their bigness and strength: such as the *Arabs* recount of their (y) *Ruch*; which as they say, lays an Egg, as bigg as a Mountain. Not to mention the winged (z) Horses of *Monomotopa*, and of other Monsters, half-birds, half-beasts, by the Ancients and Moderns either believ'd or heard to have been in *Africa*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Serpents and Insects.

Dragons *only mischievous by biting; the biggest in* India: *their Scales and Colour. The* Boa. Salamander. Snakes, *and* water-Snakes *most Venomous.* Gregories *description. Cure from Human Excrement; which perhaps the* Panther *taught: they are kill'd with a stick bent like a Bow. Torrid places impassable by reason of Serpents. The* Oxen *put to trample upon and break their Eggs.* Locusts *most pernicious, but good to eat. The Food of St.* John Baptist. Bees, *some unknown to us, they have no Sting.* Emmets, *of several kinds.*

FRom hence we pass to another sort of Creatures, mischievous to Men and Beasts, of which there are divers kinds. In the first place, *Dragons* of the largest size are in *Habessinia* to be found; mischievous, only in their voracity, but not at all Venomous; Nature providing that they should not be doubly hurtful to men. However they grow to such a bigness, that *Gregory* allow'd there were some in *India* so large, as to swallow whole Infants, Piggs, Lambs and Kidds: he further said, that they were cover'd with Scales, which in Colour very much resembl'd the bark of an old Tree, and hard to be distinguish'd from the bigger boughs. Of the *Boa*, that devour'd Oxen, he had never heard; neither did he believe that ever any other person

(y) *Of which* Bochartus *in* Hieroz. *L.6. c.* 14.

(z) P. Bolivar *the Jesuite says, that he saw one of the smaller Feathers of that Bird, twenty Spans long, and three broad: and the Quill it self being three Spans long, and as thick as an ordinary Mans Arme: He is cited by the Most Noble* Theuenot *in his Remarks upon the relations of* Ethiopia.

would. Of the *Salamander*, *Gregory* could tell me nothing; which of all Venomous Creatures, as *Plinie* reports, is accounted the most Exquisitely Mischievous. In *Java* the Greater, it is called (*b*) *Jeko*, as some think from the sound that it makes; or as others believe, from the most pernicious Effects of its Poyson. However there are in *Habessinia* other Serpents, whose Venome is of a most searching Nature. Such are those sort of Snakes called *Hydri*, inferiour to none for their Poyson; they breed in Ponds and Marshy Puddles which are dry'd up in the Summer: and then the Serpents appearing in the same places, are by the *Greeks* call'd (*c*) *Chersydri*: at which time, they are also far more Mischievous, as being exasperated by Thirst and Heat; and of these, unless I deceive my self, is the Description of *Gregory* to be understood. *There is*, said he, *a Serpent among us, about as long and as bigg as a Mans Arm, of a dark red or browniſh Colour, which lurks under Bushes and Weeds: thither if any Person or Beast happen to come, the Serpent breaths forth a Poysonous Breath* (*d*) *so Pestilent, and of so noisom a smell, that in a short time proves Mortal, unless speedy Antidotes be applyed.* Which Nature has afforded ready at hand, where the mischief requires so speedy a prevention. *For*, as he said, *it was to be cur'd by drinking Human Excrement in Water.* Which Remedy perhaps the *Panther* taught: which Beast, if at any time he hath devoured Flesh laid for him by the Hunters rub'd over with *Henbane*, cures himself by eating Human ordures: for many things which are beneficial to Beasts, are in like manner advantageous to Mankind. Other sorts of Serpents commonly and generally known I forbear to mention. The vulgar sort of People contemn 'em, walk among 'em, and kill 'em at their pleasure. Therefore as often as they go into the Country, they carry with them a croked stick; for being streight, it hits only with the Point; but being bent like a Bow, it strikes with greater force and certainty. *Gregory* hearing there were a great many Serpents about *Helburgh* in *Franconia*, belonging

(*b*) *See the Itinerarie of* Volcard Iverſen, *L.* 1. *c.* 7. *It is somewhat like an* Eft *or* Newt. *Consult* Bochart *Likewise* Hieroz. *P.* 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 4.

(*c*) *As much as to say* ὕδρος ἐν χέρσῳ. Ætius *L.* 13. *c.* 35. *or Water-Snake upon the Land.*

(*d*) *This circumstance induced me to believe, that* Gregory *meant the Serpents call'd* Hydrus *and* Chersydrus, *or* Land-water-Snake, *by reason that Authors allow them a venemous noysom breath.* Virg. *L.* 3. Georg. Ælian. Hist. *L.* 8. *c.* 13.

to

to the Duke of *Saxony*, provided himself with such a sort of Weapon, and when he met a Snake, never struck it upon the head, but upon the middle of the back; by which means, having disabled the Serpent from creeping any further, he easily kill'd it.

Those parts of *Africa* which are most subject to heat, are most Infested with *Serpents*; which being for the same reason uncultivated, are therefore impassable. And therefore *Gregory* seeing our Boots, said they were excellent defences against the Biting of *Serpents*. Sometimes they drive their Cattle, as I am apt to believe, fortified before-hand, by feeding upon the Plant *Assazoe*, into the Fields and places that are strew'd with *Serpents* Eggs, on purpose that they should trample 'em to pieces with their Hoofs: otherwise, they are so Fruitful that they would encrease beyond Imagination.

But much more pernicious than these are the *Locusts*, which do not frequent the Desert and Sandy places like the *Serpents*; but places best Manur'd, and Orchards most laden with Fruit. They appear in Prodigious Multitudes, like a thick Cloud that obscures the Sun: nor Plants, nor Shrubs, nor Trees remain untouch'd: and wheresoever they feed, their leavings seem as it were parch'd with the Fire. Sometimes they enter the very Bark of the Trees, and then the Spring it self cannot repair the Damage. A general Mortality ensues, and Regions lye wast for many years; in regard the *Habessines* never take care (*e*) for Stores of Provision, or to stack their Hay. Indeed, for some time they may support themselves by feeding upon the *Locusts* themselves, which they greedily eat, as well to satisfie their hunger as in Revenge; for it is a very sweet and wholesom sort of Dyet: by means of which, a certain *Portuguez* Garrison in *India*, that was ready to yield for want of Provision, held out till it was Relieved another way. And therefore it is not to be doubted, but that St. *John* the *Baptist* fed upon these *Locusts* in the *Wilderness*.

Concerning other Insects, of which that Climate is sufficiently fruitful, it will be needless to say much more; only as to their *Bees*, we have this to observe; That they swarm in *Habessinia*, and produce Prodigious quantities of Honey: They are a small sort of black Earthing-*Bee*, which make

(*e*) Dapper *in his Description of* Guiny, *or the* Golden-shoar, p. 459. *but in this he is deceiv'd; because he says, they came out of* Arabia *the Happy, so far off.*

the whiteſt and the ſweeteſt Honey that is uſed in Medicaments. From their Labours the *Habeſſines* gather their wild Honey, of the ſame nature with that which fed *John the Baptiſt*; but in regard they want Stings, they ſeek for ſecurity in concealment; for they build their Architecture under Ground, into which the entrance is ſo narrow, that upon the ſight of a man, five or ſix of them will fill it, and place their little heads equal with the ground ſo like Artiſts, as to delude the quickeſt ſight.

Next to theſe their *Ants* or *Emmets* are very remarkable; of which, there are likewiſe ſeveral ſorts, not ſo bigg as a ſmall Dogg, (*f*) ſuch as *Thuanus* relates, was ſent among other Preſents, by *Thamus* the *Perſian King*, to *Solyman* Emperour of the *Turks*, but bigger than thoſe in our Climates; as the *African* and *Indian* Inſects generally are. Among the reſt, the moſt obſervable are thoſe which they call *Gundan*, for they always march in a kind of Military Array, obſerving Order and Diſcipline, leaving a kind of High-way behind them. They do not gather with induſtry, but preſently devour; and the pricks of their Stings are not a little painful. The next to theſe, are thoſe which by the Inhabitants are call'd, the *Gundan's* Servants, being as it were Slaves to the Greater ſort; they march in Order, but carry their Proviſion in the nippers of their little Snowts, and lay it up; when it is moiſt they bring it forth again and dry it in the Sun: of theſe, by reaſon of their great Induſtry, it is thought, that *Solomon* ſpake. There are ſome that have Wings at certain ſeaſons, with which they can Fly; which happens ſometimes in *Germanie*: once I ſaw ſuch in my own Country; and theſe flying *Ants*, I remember, were eaſily devoured by the Poultrie.

(*f*) *This I rather believe, than the ſtory of* Plinie, *L.* 11. *c.* 30. *concerning* Emmets *among the Northern* Indians, *that dig up great pieces of Gold; themſelves as big as* Egyptian Foxes. Soline *alſo makes them as big as great Doggs.* Polyhiſt. *c.* 40. *al.* 27.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Nature and Genius of the Inhabitants.

The Habeſſines *of a towardly diſpoſition. The commendations which* Tellezius *gives them. The beſt of all the* Africans. *Servants of this Nation priz'd all over the World.* Preſter-Chan, *why ſo called. The* Habeſſines *deſirous of Arts and Sciences; eſpecially, the* Latine Tongue. *The cauſes of* Gregorie's *going into* Germany. *They want the Opportunities of attaining to Learning, and why? They of* Tygra *are blam'd. For ſhape and features the* Habeſſines *excell. White* Ethiopians *in* Guiny. *They prefer Blackneſs. They paint the Devil White. The Men very ſtrong. So are the Women, and bring forth with little pain. Nor are they unfruitful, and therefore the Country Populous. The* Jews *Inhabiting among them, formerly enjoy'd their own Priviledges, now Diſpers'd and Exiles. They uſe a corrupt* Talmudic *Dialect. Mahumetans mixt with Chriſtians, Pagans innumerable, wandring; Naked Creatures, by the* Portugals *call'd Cafres, or Infidels.*

HAving thus given an account of the Beaſts, Inſects, and Fiſh, peculiar to theſe Regions, we are now to ſpeak of the Inhabitants; Man being the moſt perfect of all the Creation, and for whoſe benefit the reſt were deſigned. And firſt, we muſt confeſs, That there is not the ſame harſhneſs and roughneſs in the Diſpoſitions of the People, as in the nature of the Soyl: for the *Habeſſines*, as *Tellezius* Witneſſes, in other things not ſo juſt to them, are well inclin'd, and of an excellent good Nature.

All the Habeſſines, (ſaith he) *are endu'd with a pregnant Wit, and goodneſs of Diſpoſition; not Cruel, nor Bloody: they eaſily forgive Injuries; there are few Quarrels among them, or if any do ariſe, they are ſeldom determin'd by the Sword; only Boxing and Cuffing decides the difference: They are Naturally given to Juſtice and Equity; ſo that having Cufft a while, they preſently chooſe Arbitrators, or repair to the Lord of the Place, and there ſet forth their Complaint in Words, without any of our Parchment Ambiguities, and hearing the Sentence which he gives, ſubmit without any delay or tergiverſation: So that they have no need of Anſwers and Replies, and Rejoynders, and Exceptions; but avoid the noiſe of the Bar, and the expences of Pleading.*

And when he inveighs againſt *Adamas--Saghed*, the Prince of the *Habeſſines*, he adds, *That he had forgot the Lenity, Truth,*

and

and Christian Piety, which wonted to be almost natural to the Abessines.

But before all the rest he prefers those of *Enarea* by the Confession of the *Habessines* themselves. For (g) those he commends above all others, both for their Endowments as well of Body as Mind; and for their Courage and Fidelity. A Testimony which certainly contains a very high Applause of a Nation, otherwise rude and impolish'd; so that if they had but the advantages of Education, most certain it is, that the *Abessines*, would prove the most ingenious and understanding people of all *Africa*; which is well known all over the *East*: And therefore Servants out of this Nation, are sold for more, and more esteem'd than Slaves out of any other of the Black Nations whatever. For which cause some Learned Men are of Opinion, that the King of the *Abissines* was therefore call'd *Prester-Chan*, for that in the *Persian* Language *Prester-Chan* signifies (h) A Prince of the best Servants, being taken in War, or otherwise by Pirates, and sold to the *Mahumetans*. If they were not well grounded before in the Christian Religion, they are easily seduced to renounce their Christianity, for that there is no Circumcision exacted from them, as being already Circumciz'd: and then again, though they be Foreigners and bought with Money, yet are they often advanc'd to Dukedoms and Governments, and rise to great Preferments above the Natives and Free-men. They are most Covetous after Learning, and desirous of the knowledg of Arts and Sciences. Nor was there any other greater reason of that kindness which was shewed to the Fathers of the Society towards the beginning of this Century, in *Habessinia*, but that they were skilled in all sorts of Arts and Sciences, and therefore admir'd by the King and Princes of the Nation. For they love and reverence all sorts of Forrain Christians that are adorn'd with the Ornaments of Art and Learning. *Gregory* related to me, That when the *Portugues* Patriarch carried thither a great number of very fair Books, sundry of the Nobility, and among the rest, *Tine*, one of the King's Councellors, expressed himself with a Sigh in these words. *Oh happy he that can understand all these Books!* And many persons of full years, hearing of the excellency and large use of the

(g) *For those are his words, L. 4. c. 30. pag. 177. a.*
(h) Jacob Golius, *as* Blancard *alleadges in his Notes upon* Curtius.

Latine

Latine Language, have most Ardently desired to learn it. And that indeed seemed to me to be the most prevailing reason, why our *Gregory* though stricken in years, undertook so long a journey after me into *Germany*; and why *Acalex* a young *Habessine* followed him soon after; though not being understood in *Germany* where he pronounced *Ehrfahrer* instead of *Erfurt* he had the ill fortune to lose his labour. Therefore they neither want ingenuity nor industry, but only Opportunity and Assistance, for they never travel long Journies: our *Europeans* are hindred by the difficulties of getting into their Country, and the tediousness of the Journey, whether by Land or Sea: and besides all this the Envy of the *Turks* joyn'd to their implacable Avarice will not permit them to suffer us to Import our Arts of Peace and War, to their own and the disadvantage of the rest of the *Mahumetans*. Lastly, their continual Civil Broyls, and Forraign Wars with the *Gallans* are such as will not allow the Nobility leisure to mind the Studies of Tranquillity.

But among such a variety of people, it is impossible, that the same manners and dispositions should be in all; for Nature has brought forth nothing so good in the Universe, which has not something of Evil mix'd with it. Thus *Tellez* sets a very bad Character upon the Inhabitants of *Tigra*; who, as he says, are a People irresolute and faithless; inconstant, and falsesswearer, bloody and Vindictive; so that Enmities in Families among them remain from Posterity to Posterity. *Godignus* gives the same report: saying, *That in all* Ethiopia *there is no Nation like them for their vile manner of living and ill Customes.*

But as the *Habessines* generally excell in generosity of Mind and smartness of Understanding, so do they far exceed all other *Ethiopians* in shape of Body, and symmetrie of Lineaments; the rest of the *Africans* being generally mark'd with a Blubber Lipp'd and Flat Nos'd deformity.

The Habessines, *saith* Tellez, *are remarkable for the compleat shape of their Bodies; of a due procerity, free and chearful Countenance, and thin Nos'd, that is not flat Nos'd, nor blubber Lipp'd; so that our* Europeans *exceed them only in Colour: in other Perfections of Proportion they differ little or nothing. They are generally Black, which they most admire: Some are Ruddie Complexioned; some few White, or rather Pale and Wan, without any grace or welfavouredness.*

True

True it is, there are some *Whites* among the *Ethiopians* in other places, but they look like the countenances of Dead Men, or as if they had the Leprosie: which other Authors also Testifie, but write withal, that it proceeds for some Disease in the Body, and therefore other *Ethiopians* avoid being (*i*) breathed upon, or touched by them, as believing them Contagious. Also in the Midland parts of *Guiney* there is a Nation consisting all of *White People*, which are therefore call'd
Plin. l. 5. c. 8. *Leuc-Ethiopes*, or *White Ethiopians*, and of these the ancient Authors make mention. However, the *Ethiopians* are pleas'd with their own *Blackness*, and prefer it before the *White Colour*. Neither would *Gregory* permit himself to be overcome with this Argument, That our Children were frighted at the sight of an *Ethiopian*; averring, that their Children were as much terrified at the sight of our *White Europeans*: they are not born Black, but very Red; and in a short time turn Black: Some Authors write, that the *Ethiopians* paint the Devil *white* in disdain of our Complexions.

Their strength of Body is extraordinary. And by reason of the admirable temper of the Air, they are extreamly vivacious and patient of Labour; nor are they easily wearied with clambering their own Rocks. They live till meerly dissolv'd by pure decrepid Age, unless they fall by the Sword, or are devoured by the Wild Beasts, as *Salust* writes of the *Africans* in his time. I am apt to think, that the *Macrobii*, or *Long-livers*, formerly Inhabited some part of *Habessinia*, for that the Ancient Writers report them settl'd beyond *Meroe*. (*k*) Their Women are also strong and lusty, and bring forth with little pain, as most Women do in hot Countries. When they are in Labour they kneel down upon their knees, and so are (*l*) delivered, without the help of a Midwife, unless very rarely. And that they are Fruitful you may well

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(*i*) *The Famous* Isaac Vossius *in his Book of the Original of* Nile *and other Rivers, believes that those* Ethiopians *are truly Leprous, and that the difference of Colour proceeds from the Disease: but with submission to so great a person, I should think that a Nation so Infected could not long endure: nor that the King of* Lovangi *would admit Leapers into his Guard.*

(*k*) Solin *in* Polyhist. *c.* 43. *al.* 30. *out of* Pomponius Mela. *The Long-livers, or* Macrobii, *saith he,* Honour Justice, Love Equitie; they are very strong, and perticularly well-favoured. *But presently after he brings in the old Fable, the Fable of the* Sun; *which* Herodotus *sets forth at large,* L. 3. *where he Treats of the* Ambassie of Cambyses to the King of the *Macrobii.*

(*l*) *Thus did the* Hebrew *Women; as it is said of* Elis *Daughter in Law,* She fell upon her knees and brought forth.

imagine

imagine from the Multitude of People; for though *Habeſſinia* be not ſo numerouſly Inhabited; yet the Latine Patriarch *Alphonſus Mendez*, going his Viſitation, in one little Province, reckon'd Forty thouſand; in other places, a Hundred thouſand: and in other places, others of the Fathers Baptiz'd a Thouſand two hundred and five. Nor is it to be queſtion'd but that if the Kingdom were at Peace; if their Cities and Towns were Fortify'd, and that they took care of their Granaries, that the number of Inhabitants in ſo healthy a Country would ſoon be multiply'd.

Beſides the *Abyſſines*, ſeveral other Nations Inhabit this Kingdom, *Jews*, *Mahumetans*, with ſeveral *Pagans* mix'd amongſt the reſt. The *Jews* formerly held ſeveral fair and large Provinces, almoſt all *Denbea*, as alſo *Wegara* and *Samen*, ſtoutly and long Defending themſelves by means of the Rocks, till they were driven thence by *Suſneus*; at that time they alſo liv'd according to their own Cuſtoms; whence perhaps aroſe the report, already hinted at by us, That they liv'd either within the Dominions of *Preſter John*, or near them; under a Prince of their own. Now they are diſpers'd, though many ſtill remain in *Dembea*, getting their livings by Weaving, and exerciſing the Trade of Carpenters. Others have retired themſelves without the bounds of the Kingdom, to the Weſtward near the River *Nile*, adjoyning to the *Cafers*, whom the *Ethiopians* call *Falaſſan*, or *Exiles*. Moſt of them ſtill keep up their own Synagogues, have their own *Hebrew* Bibles, and ſpeak in a corrupt *Talmudic Dialect*. The Fathers of the Society never took care to enquire, when, or upon what occaſion the *Jews* came firſt into *Ethiopia*? whether they are addicted to the Sect of the *Karri*, or the *Jews*? what Sacred Books they uſe, whether with Points, or without Points? whether they have any other Books, eſpecially Hiſtories, or whether they have any Traditions concerning their own, or Nation of the Habeſſines? which to know, would certainly be moſt grateful to many Learned Men; in regard it ſeems very probable, that there may be found ſome Ancient Books among them, ſince they have liv'd ſo long and ſo ſecurely in ſuch inacceſſible holds.

Next to theſe the *Mahumetans* are frequently admitted into this Kingdom intermix'd up and down the Country with the Chriſtians; employing themſelves altogether in Tillage or Merchandizing; Trade being all in their hands, by reaſon

of their freedom of Traffick which the *Turks* and *Arabians* grant them, and the liberty of Commerce which they have by their means in all the parts of the *Red Sea*, where they exchange the *Habeſſinian* Gold for *Indian* Wares.

There are yet many other Barbarous Nations, that wander about in the *ſandy Deſerts*, having no knowledge of God, and living without any Government of King or Laws; varying in Cuſtomes and Language, having no certain Habitations, but where Night compells them to reſt: Savage, Naked, flat Nos'd, and blubber Lipp'd. *Agriophagi*, devourers of wild Beaſts, or rather *Pamphagi*, All-eaters, for they feed upon (*m*) Dragons, Elephants, and whatever they meet in their way. The moſt ſordid and vileſt of Human Creatures. *Gregory* deſcribed them to me, as *Pliny* deſcribed the *Troglodytes*, for they dig themſelves Dens in the Earth, which are inſtead of Houſes; they feed upon Serpents Fleſh; their Language being only an inarticulate Noiſe: the *Portuguezes* called theſe ſort of people *Cafers*, borrowing the Word from the *Arabians*, who call all People that deny one God *Cafir*, in the plural Number *Cafruna*, Infidels or Incredulous. There are alſo other *Pagans* that have their peculiar Names, and Regions, as the *Agawi*, that Inhabit the Mountainous part of *Gojam*: the *Gongæ*, *Gafates*; and the *Gallans* themſelves, otherwiſe the moſt profeſſed Enemies of the *Abeſſines*; but being expell'd by Factions of their own; the King Aſſign'd them certain Lands in *Gojam* and *Dembea*; and makes uſe of them againſt their own Country-men from whence they Revolted.

L. 5. *c.* 8.

(*m*) *For many of the* Barbarians *have been nam'd from the particular Dyet they fed upon, as the Man-Eaters, Fiſh-Eaters, Oſtrich-Eaters,* &c. Solin *in* Polyhiſt. *c.* 30. *al.* 43. Plin. *L.* 6. *c.* 30.

CHAP. XV.

Of the various Languages us'd in Ethiopia, *particularly of our* Ethiopic, *Erroneously call'd* Chaldaic, *in the last Century.*

The Antiquity of the Ethiopic *Language; its various Appellations: formerly the natural Language of those of* Tigra: *in that all their Books written. The* Tegian *Language, what.* Joh. Potken, *first divulg'd the* Ethiopic *in* Europe, *and call'd it* Chaldee *by mistake: more like the* Arabic: *the use of it in the* Hebraics. *An Example in the words* Adama, *and* Adam; *not so called from the Redness of the Earth. What now the natural* Habassian, *It differs from the* Ethiopic, *which is much more noble: to be learnt by reading and use: for that they have neither* Grammer *nor* Lexicon. *Few understand it: difficult to pronounce. Multitude of Dialects. Eight Principal Languages. They understand not the* Greek. *The number of Languages in vain prefix'd: not so numbred in* Africa.

AMong so many and such variety of Nations, it is no wonder there should be such diversity of Languages. The most Noble and most Ancient Language of this Kingdom is our *Ethiopic*, commonly so call'd by the Learned: for the Attaining of which, we set forth a *Lexicon* and *Grammer* some while since in *England*; the *Abissines* call it *Lesana Itjopia*, the Language of *Ethiopia*, or *Lesana Gheez* and sometimes singly *Gheez*; or the Language of the Kingdom: or if you please, the Language of the Study; for that the Word signifies both: also the Language of Books; either because it is only us'd in Writing, or else because it is not to be attained without Study and Reading of Books: It was formerly the Natural Language of those of *Tigra*, when the Kings kept their Court at *Aexuma*, the Metropolis of *Tigra*; in this Language all their Books, as well Sacred, as Prophane, were written, and still are written: and into this Language the *Bible* was formerly Translated. For whereas others Write, that the *Abessines* read the Scripture in the *Tegian* Language, (*n*) that's a mistake; for the *Tegran*, or the Language of *Tigra*, is to be understood of our *Ethiopic*. 1661.

(*n*) Walton *in his* Prolegomena *before the* Bible, *c.* 15. *out of* Alvarez, *for the* r. *and the* i. *written without a Point after the* Italian *manner, deceiv'd the Readers.*

Though it be true, that ſince their Kings left *Axuma*, the Dialect of this Country is very much alter'd; yet ſtill it approaches neareſt to the Ancient Language, which is as we but lately ſaid, now call'd the *Ethiopic*: ſo that the *Abiſſines* themſelves if they meet any doubtful word in this Language, preſently conſult thoſe of *Tygra*, concerning the ſignification.

John Potken, a *German* of *Cologne*, now Ancient and Gray, was the firſt that divulg'd this Language in *Europe*; and then ſetting up a neat *Ethiopic* Printing-Houſe in *Rome*, there Imprinted the firſt *Ethiopic* Books, that is to ſay, the *Pſalter*, with the *Hymns of the Old Teſtament*, and the *Canticles*. In this deceiv'd that he gave too much Credit to certain Idle *Habeſſines*, who Affirm'd, That as well their Language, as their *Ethiopic* Characters were (o) *Chaldaic*. I could not find out the Cauſe of ſo Groſs an Errour; neither had *Gregory* ever heard it in his own Country: perhaps it fell out by reaſon of the likeneſs of the Language, though indeed it agree with the *Chaldaic* no more than with the *Hebrew* or *Syriac*; for it approaches neareſt to the *Arabic*, of which it ſeems to be a kind of Production; as being comprehended almoſt within the ſame *Grammatical Rules*; the ſame forms of Conjugations; the ſame forms of Plurals, both entire and anomalous; ſo that whoever underſtands either that, or the reſt of the *Oriental Languages*, may with little labour underſtand this our *Ethiopic*. Neither is it uſeful alone for the underſtanding of the *Habeſſine* Books and Affairs, but for Illuſtrating and Expounding the reſt of the *Eaſtern Languages*, and firſt the *Hebrew*; of which there is yet a ſmall remainder in the Bible; inſomuch that the genuine ſignifications of many words are to be fetched from the neighbouring *Dialects*: and many texts of Sacred Writ borrow that Light from hence; as ſhall be more amply demonſtrated by Examples in our Commentary. One more then ordinarily remarkable we ſhall here produce. The *Latines* called the moſt Elegant and Delightful piece of Workmanſhip of the Moſt Omnipotent God, *Mundum*, or the World: in imitation of the *Greeks*, who nam'd the ſame thing

(a) Ambroſe Theſeus, *his Contemporary, mildly reproves him for it, in his* Introduction to the Oriental Languages; *for ſaith he, with tenderneſs to his age and friendſhip,* Thy Learning very much fails thee in this matter. *Now* Theſeus *ſtifly affirms, The* Habeſſines *to be* Indians, *and their Language* Indian: *perhaps the more tolerable Errour of the two.*

Κόσμον, or Ornament; (p) assuming the same Word not from Native Invention, but from the *Phœnicians*, by whom the World, but more especially the Earth, is called *Adamah*, or Beautiful. I know it is vulgarly deriv'd from the signification of (q) *Redness*, because the *Hebrew* Root *Adam* signifies to *be Red*. But how much of the Earth can we aver to be *Red*; certainly a very small quantity; so that it is most insipid to derive the Etymologie of so vast a Mass from *Redness*. Therefore first Created Human Being himself, the common Parent of us all, deriv'd his Name *Adam*, not from the *redness* of the Earth, but from the Absolute Perfection of his Frame and Shape, as being the Master-piece, to speak *more Humano*, of his (r) Creator. For this signification, which has hitherto been unknown to the *Lexicon*-writers of most of the *Oriental Languages*, is most apparent from the *Ethiopic*; in which Language *Adamah* signifies *Beautiful, Elegant, and Pleasant*. Nor do the *Ethiopians* understand the Word *Adam*, otherwise than of a thing that is *Beautiful*. And there is no doubt, but that the City *Adamah*, before it was destroyed with *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, seated up on the Banks of *Jordan*, which are often compar'd to the (s) *Garden of the Lord*, was so call'd, from the Pleasantness of its Situation.

But *Axuma* being relinquish'd, and the *Empire* being translated into the Heart of the Kingdom, the Vulgar use of this our Language ceas'd. For the *Zagean* Line failing, when they set up a *Sewan* Prince, where the *Amharic Dialect* is vulgarly spoken, and that some others who were Exiles in the Rock of *Amhara*, were call'd to the Government, the *Amharic Dialect* came into request. For the new King not well understanding the Language of *Tygra*, and having advanc'd about his Person his own Friends that spake the same Language with him, brought his own *Dialect* into the Court and Camp; which being long fix'd there, and in the Parts adjoyn-

(p) *For the* Greeks *borrowed their Letters; and many other things from the* Phœnicians, *as* Bochart *and many others declare at large.*

(q) *So most* Lexicon-*Writers*; Buxtorf *tells us, that* Adamah, *Earth, is so call'd as being of a* Red, *or Clay Colour.* Schindler *affirms,* The true Earth, before it is dig'd is Red; and that *Adam* was Form'd out of Red Earth. *Which are said vainly and gratis; neither does* Kimchi *in his Book of* Roots *mention any such Derivation.*

(r) *But after his Fall, having lost his Primitive Beauty, he was admonish'd of his Mortality, by an Allusion to the Word* Earth, *out of which he was Created.*

(s) גן-יהוה Gaz-Jehovah, *the Paradise of God, according to the Vulgar* Latine *Version.*

ing,

ing, was seldom remov'd into *Tygra*. In imitation of whom, the rest of the Nobility and great Personages used the same Speech. Thus the *Amharic Dialect*, otherwise call'd the *King's Language*, being carry'd along with the Camp and Court over all the Kingdom, (*t*) got the upper hand of all the other Dialects, and the Ancient and more Noble *Ethiopic Language* it self: and at length became so Familiar to all the Chief of the *Abissines*, that you may easily by the use of that one Dialect Travel the whole *Empire*, though in several Parts so extreamly differing in Dialect from one another. It differs from the *Ethiopic*, both in Construction and Grammer; so that he who understands the one, cannot comprehend the other; yet he who understands the one, may easily learn the other, because that for above half the Language, as far as I can judge, the words are common to both. *Gregory* could hardly be perswaded to Translate me the Lords Prayer, and some few Texts of Scripture into the *Amharic Dialect*, by reason of the difficulty to write it. For it has seven peculiar Characters not usual in the *Ethiopic*: however the *Ethiopic* retains its pristine Dignity, not only in their Books, but in their Divine Worship; as also in the Kings Letters Patents, and Commissions, which are dispatch'd in his Council.

Therefore they are accounted Learned in *Ethiopia*, that can but Read and Write it: for it is to be learnt out of Books, and by long use, as also by the Assistance of School-masters too, though they are very rare there; for they have neither Grammer nor Dictionary, which *Gregory* beheld here, not without Admiration. At first he extreamly wondred what I meant, when I requested of him the Root of any *Ethiopic* Word, at what time I was compiling my *Lexicon*; and seeming to be much offended, asked whether I thought the *Ethiopic* Words grew upon Roots. But when he understood the scope and use of the *Question*, he cryed out, *O the Learning of Europe!* They are contented only with a *Vocabularie*, wherein according to several Classes, the *Ethiopic* Words are Explained in the *Amharic Dialect*. They call it a *Ladder*, in imitation of the *Arabians*, who call such a kind of Book, a (*u*) *Great*

(*u*) *Such is the* Great Kopto-Arabic Scale, *which* Kircher *published at* Rome.

Scale,

Scale, or *Ladder*. The more unskilfull ſeek for ſuch words therein which they do not underſtand in the *Ethiopic*; but there are very few that ſpeak *Ethiopic* in *Ethiopia* it ſelf. *Gregory* was perſwaded to ſpeak it for my ſake, uſing at firſt many *Amharic* Words, which I obſerv'd alſo to happen in the Writings of their more unlearned Authors, before he could accuſtom himſelf to the true *Ethiopic*. Both, but eſpecially the *Amharic* are very difficult to pronounce, for there are Seven Letters in both ሐ. ተ. ዐ. ጠ. ፀ. ጰ. ኀ. whoſe true Power unleſs it be that of ዐ. is altogether unknown to the *Europeans*, ſo that it is almoſt impoſſible for them to ſhape their Tongues to ſpeak ſeveral words, which makes me very ready to believe *Plinie*, when he Writes, That *the Names of the People and Towns in* Africa, *are not to be utter'd but in their own Languages*. L. 5. Beſides, the ſound of their Vowels is ſo harſh and unpleaſant, that they almoſt ſcare the hearer; the obſcurity of their Language and Pronunciation correſponding with the Darkneſs of their Complexions.

But this variety of Speech is much more conſpicuous in other Kingdoms and Provinces of this Empire. *Tellezius* Elegantly Writes, *That there are as many Languages as Kingdoms; nay, that there are different Dialects and Inhabitants in one and the ſame Kingdom. In* Gojam, ſaith he, *there are ſome Towns not far diſtant one from another, the* Damotans, Gafatans, Shewans, Setans, Shatans, *beſides the* Agawi, *the* Gonge, *and the* Natives, *whoſe Dialects differ as much as* Portugueze *from* Italian *or* French: *But the Nobility and Learneder ſort, as we make uſe of* Latine, *ſo they ſpeak generally* Amharic. That which follows, I had from *Gregorie's* Lips; by which the difference of their Language may be the better underſtood.

The Language of *Tigra* comes the neareſt to our *Ethiopic*; as being leaſt corrupted of all the reſt.

To the *Amharic* Language, thoſe of the Neighbouring Kingdoms come the neareſt; though their Dialects are different one from another; for that of *Bagemdra* is peculiar: *Angota*, *Hata*, *Gojam*, and *Shewa*, uſe a Dialect common to one another.

Gafata makes uſe of many *Amharic* words, but in ſo difficult a Dialect as requires a long time to underſtand it.

Dembea ſpeaks a Language, altogether different as well from the *Ethiopic* as *Amharic*.

The Language of *Gonga*, is the ſame with that of *Enarea*, but

but different from all the other Speeches of *Ethiopia*.

The Inhabitants of *Cambat* the *Gallans*, *Agawi*, and *Shankali*, have each of them their distinct Languages, so that there are Eight or more Principal Languages in this Kingdom, and many more Dialects. For an Example of some of these differences, the following Words signifie all one thing; that is to say, *Lord*, or *Dominus*.

Ethiopic.	*Amharic.*	*Tigran.*	*Dembean.*	*Enarean.*
Egzi-e.	Abet.	Hadazi	Jeg-ja.	Donza.

Gregory left me some words of the *Gallan* Language, which I here insert, to shew the difference between the *Amharic* and *Ethiopic* Dialects.

Ethiopic.	*Amharic.*	*Gallan.*	*English.*
Semaj.	Idem.	*Kake.*	Heaven.
Wabereke.		*Dagae.*	Thunder.
Alat.		*Jbije.*	Fire.
Amatzea Alat.	*Anetza Asat.*	*Hije fuje.*	bring Fire.
Waj.	*Wahha.*	*Bisan.*	Water.
Firese.	Idem.	*Tarej.*	A Horse.
Dalebe.	*Wesha.*	*Sareti.*	A Dogg.
Hobaje.	*Janedjero.*	*Tledesha.*	A Baboon.
Halibe.	*Watote.*	*Anne.*	Milk.
Negus.	Idem.	*Nekus.*	A King.
Dueſate.	*Setotje.*	*Fute.*	A Woman.
Ahuja.	*Wanedama.*	*Abletsha.*	My Brother.
Ahuteja.	*Hate.*	*Ablete.*	My Sister.
Hubalte.	*Jaba*	*Budeno.*	Bread.

We shall say nothing of the Forrainers scattered over all the Kingdom, who being naturally *Arabians*, use their own Native Language, which at Court and among the Merchants is well enough understood; and therefore they who can speak that Language, negotiate their own Affairs with ease in any publick Place. The *Jews* make use of their own corrupt *Talmudic*, which by Converse with the Natives is daily more and more corrupted. As for the *Greek* Language, the *Habessines* are utterly Ignorant of it; though several *Greek* Words were transferred into their Country, together with their Sacred Writings, upon the Change of their Religion.

When

When I consider this great Variety of Languages, I cannot sufficiently wonder at the vanity of those People, who have presumed to confine the Languages of the World to a certain Number. (y) Whereas all the Nations of the World are not yet known; for if it be true, what I have been told by several Mariners, that upon the Coast of *Africa*, the Languages vary at every Fifteen or twenty *German* Miles Distance, it follows, that that one Quarter of the World contains more Languages then all the rest, by reason of the innumerable number of Nations which are cherish'd within the Bowels of so large a Continent.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Neighbouring Nations; and particularly of the (z) *Nation of the* Gallans.

The Adelans *have almost ruin'd* Habessinia; *the* Turks *possess the Sea Ports*; *The* Gallans *more formidable*: *The Relation of* Gregory *concerning their Original*: *Another of* Tellez: *both reconcil'd. Their Laws. Polygamy lawful among them. Incitements to Courage. Their Armes. Graziers. Their Dyet. A formidable, unquiet Nation. Their Prince at present. Their Deitie. Circumciz'd: capable of the Christian Religion. Their acquisitions: divided into Two Nations: The Kingdom of* Zendero *describ'd. Inchanters allow'd. The cruel Election of their King*; *the Kingdom of* Alabat, *&c.*

HItherto of the People at this time or formerly subject to the Kings of the *Habessines*. Now it remains, that we speak of their Neighbours, that we may the better judge of the State and present Condition of the Kingdom.

The most cruel and bloody War which the Inhabitants

(y) Clemens Alexandrinus *believed, there were Seventy sorts of Languages.* Euphorus *reckons up Seventy five upon an idle computation.* Plinie *tells a strange thing, That when the Citie of* Dioscurias *a City of the* Colchi *flourish'd, by the relation of* Timosthenes *it held three hundred Nations of different Languages; and that afterwards the* Romans *were forc'd to make use of a Hundred and thirty Interpreters to manage their Affairs in the same place: but mistakes in Figures are easily committed.* *Lib. 6. c. 5.*

(z) *They are called* Galla, *briefly by the* Habessines: *we give them the name of* Gallans; *least while we discourse the Barbarism of the* Galli, *we should injure one of the Politest and Civillest Nations in the World.*

of *Adela* wag'd in the foregoing Century under the Conduct of their Captain (*a*) *Grainus*, againſt the *Habeſſines*, ſo ruin'd their Affairs, that they could never ſince recover their loſſes. From whence, as well the *Turks* as the *Gallans* have taken an occaſion continually to vex them with Wars and waſtful Inroades. And firſt, the *Turks*, after they had poſſeſt themſelves of *Egypt*, and ſlain the King of the *Mamalukes*, ſent a Fleet into the *Red Sea*, to ſecure the *Indian* Navigation, which is vaſtly profitable to *Egypt*: for that the *Portugueſſes*, to the intent they might enjoy the ſole Trade of *India*, took all the Ships of the *Saracens* they could meet with, pretending a hatred of their Religion. The *Turks* therefore to ſhut up all the Ports of that Sea, made themſelves Maſters of *Suaqena*, and *Matzua*, Iſlands that formerly belong'd to the *Habeſſines*, which they might the more eaſily do, in regard the *Habeſſines* having their handsful by Land, took no care of their Sea Affairs. But ſoon after they became ſenſible, how vaſt an Inconvenience it was to have ſo Powerful a Neighbour; finding what Potent Succours of Men and Fire-arms the *Turks* ſent to aſſiſt their Enemies and thoſe that revolted from them. Nor are they leſs frequently ſenſible of it to this day; in regard that neither Men nor Merchandize can be admitted into the *Gulph*, unleſs they requeſt it from the *Baſha* or his Deputies, with vaſt Expenſes of rich Preſents.

But the Fierceneſs and Cruelty of the *Gallans* is much more Formidable. For they having Subdu'd many Kingdoms & Provinces thirſt after all the reſt; whence 'tis very probable what *Tellezius* writes, That unleſs they had fallen into Factions among themſelves; or that the *Habeſſines* were not ſo Invincibly ſecur'd within their own Rocks, they had been e're this utterly deſtroy'd. Therefore it ſeems but requiſite, that I ſhould here give an Accompt of the Original and Cuſtoms of theſe People: which I ſhall do as well from *Tellezius*, as from the Lips of our *Gregory* himſelf.

What time *Etana-Denghel*, ſirnamed *David* was entangled in that fatal War with the *Adelenſes*; that other Plague brake forth about the Year One thouſand five hundred thirty ſeven, from the Kingdom of *Bali*. A certain number of Servants being cruelly handl'd, by one *Matthew* a Noble-man,

(*a*) *The* French *read the word* Gragne, *the* Portuguezes Granhe.

Revolted;

Revolted; and despairing of Pardon, associated to themselves all the Fugitives and Criminals that fled from the Punishment of their Mis-deeds, and liv'd upon Publick Spoil and Plunder, which they did with more success, in regard the Inhabitants of *Bali* were not able to oppose 'em: And for the *Habessines*, they being involv'd in Wars with the *Adelans*, contemn'd those inconsiderable Robbers. *Tellez* affirms them a particular Nation, and the same that Inhabited the *Eastern Coast* of *Africa*, and the Places adjoyning to the *Indian Sea*: perhaps those Servants, of whom *Gregory* makes mention, belong'd to that Neighbouring Nation, and flying to their own Country-men for Aid, discover'd *Habessinia*, and those Countries which were by their Servitude well known to them.

And now the *Gallans*, puft up with their success and rich Plunder, and increas'd in their number, having Subdu'd *Bali*, over-ran the neighbouring Kingdoms; But when they saw that what was won by Force must be defended by Force, they began to make Laws among themselves, very advantageous for the Enlargement of their detestable Dominion, and the preservation of their untam'd and barbarous fierceness. They are not so unlimited, as to despise Matrimony, like the *Garamants*, nor do they live commonly with their Women; but they have as many Wives as they please. The young Men are not permitted to cut their Hair, before they have kill'd an Enemy in the Field, or some wild Beast, an encouragement of boldness and hardiness to adventure; that by such a conspicuous Mark, the sluggish and cow-hearted should be distinguished, from the bold and daring. In their Banquets and Feasts the best Bit is alway set in the middle, and he that takes it, must be the first in any Perilous undertaking: nor is there any long consideration: every one prepares to win that Honour to himself, Ambition stimulating their Fortitude: but then there is a necessity of bringing some proof of an Enemy Slain, first they bring the Head, as the most modest part of the Body; but if there be any doubt of the Sex for want of a Beard, they cut off the most Obscene Parts of the Slain; a thing foul to relate: these they number, and heap up before the Army, as if their barbarous Fortitude could not be made appear without such kind of Testimony. However by those parts it is not manifest, whether he be a Friend or an Enemy that is Slain, and therefore the Head decides that Question. But their most

prevailing encouragement in Battle is, that becauſe no man ſhould be thought to Fight for baſe hire, or out of ſervile Obedience for another man's honour, but only for his own Reputation, the Plunder is equally divided among them all. They go to War, as if they had devoted themſelves for Victory, with a certain Reſolution, either to Overcome or Dye: from whence proceeds great obſtinacy in Combat. They uſe but few Weapons, at a diſtance they fight with Lances or Darts; hand to hand with Clubs or Stakes burnt at the end; relying more upon their Courage, than their Hands: They make their Shield of the skins of Oxen, or wild *Buſalo's*; formerly they fought for the moſt part afoot, now more frequently a Horſe-back. And though the *Abeſſines* are generally more in Number, and better Arm'd, as alſo more skilful Horſe-men, yet are they not able to withſtand the violence of their furious Onſets. But how they may be Subdu'd we ſhall then declare, when we come to the Chapter concerning the Power of the Kings of *Habeſſinia*.

Being thus bred up to War, they abhor all peaceful Callings, believing it much better to raviſh wealth, then get it by honeſt Labour; they willingly eat the Bread which they find among the *Abeſſines*, but do not love to grind the Corn; for they neither till nor ſow their Lands, never minding Agriculture, but only grazing of Cattle: their Herds they drive before 'em, as well in War as in Peace, through the moſt fertile Paſtures; upon the raw Fleſh of which they generally feed without Bread, and then drink their Milk; uſing the ſame ſort of Food and Drink, both at home and in the field.

They never cumber themſelves with any Baggage, not ſo much as Kitchin Utenſils, only wooden Cups to drink their Milk in. Such wild Nations are generally a Terror to civiliz'd People, whom Aboundance renders ſlothful, and Riches effeminate. Thus the *Cimbrians*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Normans* over-ran the more civiliz'd Kingdoms of *Europe*. Thus the *Oriental Tartars* formerly Invaded *China*. The *Gallans*, if at any time overcome by the *Habeſſines*, retire with their Herds into remote Corners; Oppoſing only wild Deſerts, and Solitudes for their Enemies to Encounter. Every Eight Years they chuſe one amongſt them for their Leader, as it were a kind of Maſter of the Horſe, whom they call *Luva*; and him all the reſt of the Captains obey; but that

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is only in time of War: his first Enterprize is, to Muster the People together, and Invade *Habessinia*, for the sake of Honour and Bootie.

They have a Language peculiar to themselves, and different from all the rest of the *Habessinian* Dialects; which argues their Original both forrain and common to all their Tribes; they admit of Circumcision among themselves, whether it be by any ancient Custom, observed by many of the Neighbouring *Ethnics*, or for that they find the *Arabians* and *Abessines* to do the same.

They have no Idols, and but very little Divine Worship. If you ask them concerning God, or any Supreme *Numen*, or who it is that Governs the Earth with so much Order and Constancy? they answer, *Heaven*, which embraces in their view, all the rest; however they adore that *Heaven* with no Solemn Worship, more barbarous than the *Barbarians* themselves: nor yet are they altogether void of Humanity, for they aspire to a large share of Ingenuity, and in aptness to learn equalize the smartest of the *Habessines*. From whence we may observe, that there is no sort of Humankind so fierce and savage which may not be civiliz'd by Education and Learning. Many have submitted to the Instructions of Christianity, and persisted constant in the Faith. *Tellezius* testifies, and *Gregory* farther witnessed, That several Thousands of the *Gallans* were Converted to the Christian Religion, and submitted to Baptism under King *Basilides*. Now let me tell you, this is that formidable Nation which has ruin'd the Power and Dominion of the *Abessines*; insomuch, that they have torn from the *Abessine* King above the half of those Territories which his Ancestors enjoy'd; for after their Irruption out of *Bali*, they made themselves Masters of the Provinces of *Gedmam*, *Angota*, *Dawara*, *Wed*, *Fatagar*, *Ifat*, *Guragea*, *Ganza*, *Conta*, *Damota*, *Waleka*, *Bizama*, part of *Shewa*, and many intermix'd Kingdoms. Nor had they stopp'd there, had they not, being rent into Divisions among themselves, turn'd their Arms one against another, and given the *Habessines* a little breathing time: for Concord among Equals rarely long attends Prosperity. At this time they are divided into certain Tribes, (Seventy or more,) and as it were into Two Nations; of which the more *Westerly* are by the *Habessines* call'd *Bertuma Galla*, those that lye to the *East*, *Boren Galla*: those *Easterly* and *Southerly*

therly, in a manner encircle *Habaſſia*, and harraſe it with frequent Incurſions. They have alſo ſeparated *Cambata* and *Enarea* from the reſt of the Body, as having ſubdu'd the Kingdoms that lye between; which makes it very difficult for the *Abeſſine* Prince to convoy home the Tribute of thoſe Kingdoms. Thus there is a neceſſity for the *Habeſſines* to be always in War with theſe People; nor is there any hopes of regaining their ancient and priſtine Glory, unleſs that Nation be firſt reduc'd into order. The King has prudently made uſe of their Inteſtine Diſcords; for he has plac'd the Revolters in *Dembea* and *Gojam*, and ſucceſsfully makes uſe of their Arms againſt their Country-men: for as they are the moſt excellent Antidotes, which are compos'd of the moſt Venomous Animals themſelves; ſo the *Barbarians* themſelves are the moſt prevalent Force againſt the *Barbarians*.

Now let us take a view of the Kingdom of *Zandero*, till lately undiſcovered, although contiguous to *Habeſſinia*, as being not above four or five days from it. The Inhabitants are but little more civil than the *Gallans*, only that they acknowledge a King, and have an awful reſpect for ſomething, whether it be God or Devil. The King being dead, the next of Kin retire into the Wood, and there modeſtly wait the Election of the Nobility, who in queſt of their King newly Elected among themſelves, enter the Wood, guided by a certain Bird, of the *Eagle*-kind, which by the Noiſe it makes diſcovers the Conceal'd Perſon: preſently they find him ſurrounded with a Guard of Lyons, Dragons, and Panthers, (*d*) aſſembled together by a ſort of Incantation to the Ancients unknown: At firſt he makes a reſiſtance againſt the Electors, and wounds thoſe that he can, that he may ſeem to be Conſtrained to take the Government upon him: ſoon after, as they are going along, another Gang, to whom it belongs of ancient Cuſtom, endeavour to Reſcue their King from the other Party, claiming to themſelves the Honour of being the Perſons that ſet the Crown upon the King's Head, and purchaſing the hopes of Royal Favour, by means of a ſeeming Sport, which oft-times proves very Bloody. *Thus inſtead of Inauguration, the* African *Gentiles think it Lawful to attone the Devil with human Blood.* The King proud in the height of Poverty, not contented with the few ſteps to his Throne, gets upon the Beam of his Houſe, from whence he looks down, as from a Gallery, and gives Anſwers to Embaſſadors.

Embaſſadors. *Antony Fernandez*, Travelling with the *Habeſſinian* Ambaſſador into that Kingdom, having viewed this ſame *Lybian Soveraign*, compares him for colour and geſture to a Rampant *Monkey*. Nor does the word *Zendero*, which is the Name of the Kingdom intimate much leſs, in regard that *Zendero* ſignifies an Ape. *Tellezius* adds, That it is the Cuſtom of thoſe *Barbarians*, if their King be wounded to kill him, which is conformable to the Nature of *Monkeys*, who having receiv'd a wound, tear and ſcratch it ſo long, till their Entrails drop out, or that they loſe all their Blood.

The next Kingdom is *Alaba*, conterminous Eaſterly to *Cambat*; the Governour of which, in the Sixteenth Year of this Century was call'd *Alico*. To the Eaſt, *Habeſſinia* is bounded by vaſt Deſerts, and open Solitary level Wilderneſſes, and therefore altogether unknown. Southward, it joyns to the Kingdom of *Sennar* or *Fund*, Govern'd by its peculiar King, formerly a Tributary to the *Abeſſines*, but now Abſolute. He Poſſeſt a part of the ancient *Nubia*, near to which adjoyn'd the Kingdom of *Balou*, whoſe Inhabitants are by the *Portugueſes* call'd *Balous*: their King was formerly Lord of *Suaqena*, and in friendſhip with the *Abeſſines*; now he only receives the half of the Maritine Tribute from the *Turks*. From what we have ſaid, it may be eaſily gathered, with how many Adverſaries and Enemies *Ethiopia* is ſurrounded; ſo that the *Abeſſines* may not improperly compare their Country to the Flower of Saffron *Denguelat*, ſet about with Thorns. For being perpetually ſtruggling with their Foes, they rather apply themſelves to the Arts of War, then Peace; which ſeldom thrive amidſt the Noiſe of War and public Contention.

An Addition.

It remains to ſpeak of the *Portugals* in *Habeſſinia*, who are neither *Africans* nor Forreiners; for that ſome time ſince they have ſubmitted themſelves to the *Habeſſine* Juriſdiction. For of the Four hundred, which *Chriſtopher Gamez* brought to the ſuccour of the *Abiſſines* in the *Adelan* War, about One hundred and ſeventy ſuperviving, in the ſpace of one Age multiply'd ſo faſt, that when the Fathers of the Society came thither, they were able to Muſter Fourteen hundred Fighting

Fighting men: a ſmall handful, but very conſiderable to the Party to which they adhere, as retaining their ancient Courage and dexterity in handling their Arms; for the uſe of Fire-arms ſuperiour to the *Habeſſines* or any of the *Barbarians*.

When the War with the *Adelenſes* was ended and *Grainus* ſlain; having certain Lands and Poſſeſſions granted them by *Claudius*, they choſe themſelves Wives, got Children, and being furniſh'd after the manner of the Country with Mules and Servants and other neceſſaries, began to live comfortably; for while the ſucceſs of their aſſiſtance was freſh in memory they were courted, and every where kindly entertained, and had the free liberty of their Religion: but theſe Priviledges were abridg'd by *Menas* ſucceſſor to *Claudius*. They impatiently brook'd to ſee their kindneſs ſo ungratefully retalliated; it being the nature of Soldiers rather to do, than receive injuries. However, their Lands were taken away, (for jealouſie began to Rule) or elſe exchang'd for worſe, and thoſe bordering upon the Enemy; ſo that at length the Kings of *Portugal* were forc'd to allow them Twelve hundred Patacks a year to maintain them. In this laſt Century while the Fathers of the Society flouriſh'd they wanted for nothing, but liv'd in great Proſperity: but the Fathers loſing their Credit, they were again reduc'd to the extremity of Miſery. So that it was the fear of *Mendez*, leſt in that miſerable Poverty, forgetful of their Native Language and their Anceſtors, they ſhould revolt to the Religion and Cuſtoms of the *Habeſſines*.

The End of the Firſt Book.

CONCERNING

Their Political Government.

BOOK II.

Chap. I.

Of the Kings of the Abessines, *their Various Titles, their Names and Arms.*

The King of the Abessines *why called* Prester John? *The King of* Portugal *sends to discover the* Indian *Trade, and to find out* Prester John; *One of them not finding him in* India, *causes a false Report in* Europe. *The true* Presbyter John *in* Asia. *Why so call'd? Ridiculous Expositions of his Name. The true Title of the Kings of* Abessinia. *They have a double Name relating to their Baptism, and the Government; sometimes treble, which renders the Story uncertain. Their Arms. Their Titles. The Queens Title, retain'd during Life. The Title of the Noble Women.*

THE King of the *Habesines* has been hitherto known to the *Europeans* by no other Title than that of *Presbyter John*, which was first given him by the *Portugueses*. The Occasion thus: *Peter* the Son of *Peter*, Prince of *Portugal*, returning home from *Venice*, carried along with him a Treatise of *Paulus Venetus*, being a Discourse of the Affairs of *India*; wherein many things were more especially and magnificently written concerning *Presbyter John*: which as the *Portugese* Chronicles witness, was the chief Motive to prosecute the Design of the *Indian* Navigation, that *Henry* the Son of *John* the First had begun. He being induc'd into a certain belief that there might a Compass be fetch'd about *Africa*, by which means the Passage would be open into *India*, as having read in the Relations of the Ancients, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, sailing out of the Streights of *Gibraltar*, came at length through the Ocean into the Red Sea, and sent a Navy into the unknown Atlantic Sea, to discover the Shore of *Africa*. Whose Design *Itiner.* c. 52.

John the Second purſuing, to bring the Diſcovery to Perfection, ſent two *Portugueſes*, Skilful in the Arabic Language, *Peter Covillian*, and *Alphonſus Payva*, to try what they could do; among other things, giving them more eſpecially in charge, to find out that ſo much celebrated *Presbyter John*, that moſt wealthy King as he was reputed, either in *Aſia* or *India*, hoping eaſily to obtain a League and Friendſhip with him, as a Chriſtian Prince. They Travell'd through *Egypt* ſeveral ways into *India*, and after a long and vain Search for *Preſter John*, *Payva* came home; but *Peter* more inquiſitive, at length in ſome of the Ports of the Red Sea, heard much talk of a moſt Potent Chriſtian King of the *Abeſsines*, that us'd to carry a Croſs in his Hands; as alſo of his Subjects, who were great Favourers if not Followers of the Chriſtian Religion. Believing it therefore to be of little moment whether this famous Monarch liv'd in *Aſia* or in *Africa*, he certainly perſwaded himſelf, as being Ignorant both in Hiſtory and Geography that this was the Prince ſo much ſought after; and thereupon gave Intelligence thereof to his own King, while he himſelf continu'd his Journey into *Ethiopia*, with a reſolution to take a view of this Celebrated *Presbyter* Emperor, who was look't upon as another Pope. Theſe glad Tidings the *Portugals* ſooner believ'd, than conſider'd; and ſo ſpread the News all over *Europe* for real Truth; Credulity gaining eaſily upon thoſe that are ignorant of Foreign Affairs and Kingdoms. And now the Learned Men began to enquire into the Cauſe and Original of this ſame Appellation. As it is the Cuſtom generally to ſearch for true Originals of feigned Names, and wreſt them after a ſtrange manner to make good their own Opinions.

We find among the moſt Eminent Hiſtorians, that formerly there was a certain Chriſtian Prince, that reign'd in the utmoſt Parts of *Aſia*, not far from the Kingdom of *Tenduc* toward (*a*) *Cataya*; who being of great Power and Fame, was by the Neighbouring *Perſians*, to ſignifie his remarkable Sanctity, call'd *Preſter-Chan*, or Prince of the Adorers; that is to ſay, Chriſtians; or as *Scaliger* will have it, *Friſtegiani*, the *Apoſtolic* Prince. However the Name is to be pronounc'd, we ſhall not contend; but this is certain, that the

(*a*) *The moſt Skilful Geographers teach us, That* Cataya *is no peculiar Kingdom, but a Part of North* China. *See* Newhoffus's *China Embaſſy.*

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unskilful Vulgar having learnt the Name from the *Italians*, who at that time were great Traders into the *East*, call'd him by the *Italian* Name of *Preſte*, or *Pretegianni* or *Giovanni*: after which, the ſame Name prevail'd with all the People of *Europe*.

Thus his Name and his Fame continued for ſome Ages, though under much obſcurity. For few underſtood, that that ſame Aſiatic *Preſter Chan* was (*b*) driven out of his Kingdom by *Cenchi* or *Cynges*, King of the *Tartars*. Therefore for this reaſon, becauſe the *Portugueſes* were greatly miſtaken, firſt in the Name, and ſecondly, in the thing it ſelf; that Name was given to this *African* King, which belong'd to a King reigning ſome Ages ſince in *Aſia*, ſome Thouſands of Miles diſtance.

Now after this *Sir-name* prevail'd among the *Habeſsinians*, and yet there could be found no Cauſe or Signification of the ſame, they began to find out (*c*) words Foreign, and altogether from the purpoſe to uphold their own Vanity, as *Gian-Belul*, *Beldigian*, *Taraſta Gian*: one among the reſt ſuper-exquiſitely Critical, perſwading himſelf that *Prete-Janni* was faulty, would have it to be *Pretious-John*, as a Title more becoming the Perſon of a King. This Epithete the Pope once aſſum'd, and that he might not be thought to be in an Error, many there were that obſtinately maintain'd it; *L. 2. c. 2.* ſo that *Tellezius* had much ado to inſtruct them better. It would be too tedious to rehearſe the Originals of theſe Chimera's: only we muſt take notice of this by the way, that *Beldi-gian*, and *Taras-ta-gian* were the figments of Men of no Credit; but *Gian-Belul* derives its Original from the Cries of Petitioners, with which they addreſs themſelves to the King. But ſetting aſide all theſe idle Derivations, and Surmiſes, which are ridiculous even to the more ingenious ſort of *Habeſsines* themſelves, moſt certain it is, that the Name of the King of the *Habeſsines* is no more in the *Ethiopic* Language than *Negus*, *King*; But in the Titles which both he himſelf, and all the *Habeſsines* uſe, he is call'd *Neguſa Nagaſt* (*e*) *Zaitjopia*; King of the Kings of *Ethiopia*,

(*b*) Scal. *in his Notes ad* Comp. Ethiop. *but by what Authority he writes that the* Ethiopians *were beaten out of* Aſia *by the* Tartars, *I cannot apprehend.*

(*c*) *In the Itineracie of* Hierome Wolfus.

(*d*) *As* Urreta, *and* Tzagaxi.

(*e*) *Erroneouſly* Nuguca Nagaſta *in* Tellezius, *l.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 5.

in Reference to ſome Rulers of Provinces, and Viceroys that are under him, who are alſo dignified with the Title of *Negus*, or *Nagaſh*. In the *Amharic* Dialect he is ſaluted *Hatzeghe*, which they render *Supream Prince*; and given to none but to the Prince, as the *French* in their Addreſs uſe the word *Sir*. Hence the *Arabian* word *Aticlabaſsi*, or as *Ortelius* pronounces it, *Aſiclabaſsi*; compounded from the forementiond word, *Hatzeghe*, the *Arabic* Article *El*, and the National name *Habeſh*, *Hatzeg-el-Habeſh*; or Supream Prince of the *Habeſsines*. When they add the Proper Name, they cut the word ſhort, *Hatzè*, as *Hatzè-Suſneus*, *Hatze-Jacob*; *Hatze-Baſilides*. The *Perſians* and *Indians* honour him with the Title of *Padeſhah*, which is given to none but the greateſt Kings in the Empire; as to our *German* Empire; the Kings of *India*, *Perſia*, *Turky*, and *China*, who have ſeveral Governours and Princes under their Subjection, which the common People call Emperors; and as this King by *Tellez* is call'd in the *Portugal* Language, *O Emperador Abexim*, Emperor of the *Abeſsines*: which his Title ſeems to Intimate, in regard a King of Kings may not unproperly be call'd an Emperor. Neither ſhall we derogate in the leaſt from his Title, as being ſo highly Eminent above all the Barbarous Kings of *Africa*, both for his Power, and the Honour of being a Chriſtian. Among the Ancient *Arabians*, the Kings were always call'd *Najaſhi*, as the Kings of (*f*) *Ægypt* were call'd *Pharo's*; and the *Roman* Emperors *Cæſars*. But as to the Proper Name of the King; it was the ancient Cuſtom, that at his firſt coming to the Crown, he was ſaluted by the Souldiery with a new Name, for lucks ſake; and generally the change was made of the Chriſtian Name. However they do not caſt it quite off, as the Popes do, but aſſume both together. Thus *Zar-a-Jacob* in an Epiſtle to the Tome of Councils, writes himſelf *Zar-a-Jacob*, and our *Imperial*, or *Inauguration* Name *Conſtantine*. This Name deſign'd for a good Omen, generally ſignifies Reverence and Veneration, as *Atznaf-Saghed*; Venerable to the Ends of the Earth; *Melec-Saghed*, a venerable Ruler. Sometimes they take the Names of Gems; as *Adamas-Saghed*, the venerable Diamond. *Encua-Saghed*, or *Wanag-Saghed*, a Precious Gemm. This was the

(*f*) Pharao *in the* Egyptian *Language ſignifies a King*, Joſeph. *L.* 8. *c.* 5. *al. c.* 2. Bochart iu Hieroz, *P. II. L. V.*

Name

Name of *David*, the Son of *Naod*, the Father of *Claudius*. Whence I believe it came to pass, that his Embassador *Tzagazaabus*, being sent into *Portugal*, call'd him *Pretious John*, instead of *Prete-Gianni*, as judging that the Person could not but be precious, that bare the Name of a Precious Gem. Sometimes several Names, and those variously pronounc'd are clapp'd together. For that same *David*, besides the two Names already mention'd, was Baptiz'd *Etana Denghel*, *The Virgins Incense*; or as others will have it, *Lebna Denghel*, The Virgins *Storax*. But this multitude and variety of Names often renders the History imperfect, while many times that is spoken of many Persons, which should be only said of one. Thus that famous King *Caleb*, that ruin'd the Kingdom of the *Homerites*, was by the Greeks call'd *Elesbaas*.

The King's Seal which they use in Sealing their Letters, is a Lion holding a Cross, with this Motto: *The Lion of the Tribe of* Juda *has won.*

Ridiculous therefore are those Arms which are set forth by a certain *French* Author in the Fabulous History of *Tzagaxi*, and which the Impostor himself assum'd in his Epistles to *John Wisling*, a Physitian of *Padua*.

King *David*'s Titles which are vulgarly published, are very tedious and corrupted; but here by us amended.

I Etana Denghel, *The Virgins Incense, by my Name in Baptism; by my Inauguration Name call'd* David, *beloved of God, the Pillar of Faith, descended from the Tribe of* Judah, *the Son of* David, *the Son of* Salomon, *the Son of the Pillar of* Sion, (Amda Tzeonis) *The Son of the seed of* Jacob, Zar-a-Jacob. *The Son of the hand of* Mary (Baeda-Mariami) *the Son of* Nahu, *or* Naod, *according to the Flesh.* Here some have interlarded (*The Son of St.* Peter *and* Paul, *according to Grace*) that there might be something to oppose the Flesh. *Emperor of the Upper and Lower* Ethiopia, *and of many other Kingdoms and Provinces; King of* Shoa, Gafata, Fategara, Angota, Bara, Dawara, Hadea, Bali, Ganza, Vanga, Gojam, *where are the Fountains of* Nile, Amhara, Bagemdra, Dembea, Vagna, Tigra, Sabaim, *whence the Queen of* Sheba, *Midre Bahr*, &c. Methinks I am now writing out not the *Abessine*, but the long Scroll of *Russian* Ostentation. But the *Portugals* taking the Advantage of the *Abessine* Simplicie, swell'd up this Title for them, or else over-perswaded the *Habessines* to

do

do it themſelves, that after the *European* manner, their Epiſtles, which *Alvarez* was to (*g*) carry to the Pope and the King of *Portugal*, might render his Negotiation more formidable and magnificent. For neither before nor after did the Letters which the *Habeſsinian* Kings ſent to the Princes of *Europe*, appear with any ſuch tumid Style or oſtentatious Loftineſs.

The firſt Letter from *Helena* brought by *Matthew* into *Portugal*, began with onely a bare Salutation without any Title; to omit the falſe and forgotten names of Kingdoms in thoſe other forged Titles. Again, how nonſenſical it is for a Prince to mention ſuch an uncertainty as the Queen of *Sheba's* Country, or the Fountains of *Nile* among the Titles of his Empire? as if the Fountains of *Nile* were ſuch a Miracle to the *Abeſſines*, as they were to the *Greeks* and *Latines*. What a pleaſant thing it would be if any one ſhould add to our Emperour's Titles, the Fountains of the *Danaw* in the Dukedom of *Schawben*, which were alſo unknown to the ancient Philoſophers? How idly are thoſe proper names of *Son of the Pillar of Sion*; *Son of the Seed of Jacob*; *Son of the hand of Mary*, turn'd into Appellatives? Then for *Naod*, *Alvarez* reads *Nahu*; which makes me believe him to be the Author of that ſurreptitious Title; becauſe he miſtakes the word all along in his Itinerarie. But to inſiſt no longer upon theſe figments, the Genuine ſtile of the *Ethiopic* Letters, which was made known and atteſted to me by *Gregorie* is alſo to be found in *Tellezius*, where the King writing to the Pope, uſes only this Introduction;

Let the little book of the Letter from Malec-Saghed, *King of the Kings of* Ethiopia *come to the hands of the Holy Roman Patriarch.*

In the ſame manner, writing to the King of *Spain*.

Let the little book of the Epiſtle or Letter from Atznaff-Sagned, *King of the Kings of* Ethiopia, *come to the hands of our Brother, the Lord* Philip, *King of the Kings of* Spain.

Thus he alſo writes to his Subjects.

Let the Codicile of the Letter ſent from Sultan-Saghed *King of the Kings of* Ethiopia *come to the hands of our Servant* N. N. *Hear what we ſay to thee, and what wee write to thee.*

But

But *Tellezius*, a Person of a more excellent Wit, condemns and laughs at this Catalogue, of which, he accompts *Damianus-Goez* to be the Author. He himself produces another, as appears by the Order of the Kings, and the years of their Reigns, wherein he has traced the Succession as far back as from King *Solomon*, trusting to the Credit and Tradition of the Habessines. So that he numbers ninety and nine Kings, but does not name them all.

He also omits all the Kings of the *Zagean* Family, as unlawful Successors, though it be the part of a Historian, to recount as well the evil as the good, the unjust, as well as the just Princes, in honour of their Virtues, and in detestation of their Vices. Moreover he says, *it is not the least part of that Glory which belongs to the Abbessines*, that they *have such a long and ancient Series of Kings*. Nor is it to be question'd, that though they cannot fetch their pedigree from *Solomon*, yet they are able to deduce it from *Atzbeha* and *Abreha*, two Brothers, under whom the Christian Religion was first received among the *Axumites*; and may contend for antiquity of descent, with the most ancient Royal Families of *Europe*: not to speak of the diuturnity of the Monarchy, which is much more ancient. Formerly the (1) *Egyptians* boasted the antiquity of their Kingdom, before that of all other Nations. The (*k*) *Chineses* extend the Pedigree of their Kings beyond the *Flood*. *Johannes Magnus* reckons up Kings of *Swedland* from the Deluge. Others in other places take the same liberty, whether out of love to flatter or fiction I cannot tell: as if there were more pleasure in deceiving the Credulous, then shame in being deceived by the Wise. For no wise men will contaminate their works with such Fables; or if indeed such Kings had ever been, what does it signifie to them, or their posterity, if nothing more be known of them but only a monstrous kind of a name? Our *Gregorie* had never (*l*) heard of that same *Cusus* nor his Nephews, whom these Genealogy Writers put in the Front. But being ask'd concerning King *Arwe*, he made answer, that there was an ancient Tradition among them that the most

(1) See the learned *Egyptian* Cronical Canon of Sr. *John Marsham*; and the Authors by him cited.

(*k*) See *John Newhoff's* description of *China*, *c.* 8.

(*l*) See the Catalogue annexed to *Tzagazi's* fabulous History, and *Jerome Vecchietti*, *c.* 39.

ancient

ancient *Ethiopians* worſhip'd for their God a huge Serpent, in that language called *Arwe-midre*. Whence it came to paſs that ſome would have *Arwe* for the firſt King: but however that he was ſlain by one *Angab*; who for that bold attempt was created King, and had for his Succeſſors *Sabanut*, and *Gedut*; *Tellez*, omitting all theſe *Ethnic* Kings as fictitious, begins from the Queen of *Sheba*; whom we ſhall follow, rejecting that fabulous and corrupt Catalogue which numbers up a hundred ſeventy and two.

CHAP. III.

Of the Salomonean *Family, which is ſaid to have its Original from* Menile-heck *the Queen of* Sheba's *Son, who came to viſit* Salomon.

The Ethiopians *derive their Kings from the Queen of* Sheba. *The relations of* Tellez *and* Joſephus: *Both reconcil'd. The Tradition of the* Arabians: *Their Contention with the* Abeſſines. Mendez *his Argumuets for the* Abeſſines. *The Opinions of* Tellez *and* Gregorie. *The Author ſuſpends his judgment for ſeveral reaſons.*

WE find in Sacred Writt (that we may begin at the Fountain of *Antiquity*) that the Queen of *Sheba* came to *Jeruſalem* to hear and behold the Wiſdom of *Salomon*, and that ſhe brought along with her, precious Gifts, as Gemms, Gold, and Spices. Our Saviour tells us, A Queen of the South, Βασίλισσα νότου, that came from the ends of the Earth to hear the Wiſdom of *Salomon*. The *Ethiopic* verſion renders the *Queen of the South Nagaſta-Azeb*, (*m*) *which ſignifies the ſame thing.*

Her therefore the *Ethiopians* aſſert to be their Queen; and have her Hiſtory written at large, but mix'd with ſundry Fables. We ſhall tranſcribe the Summ of it out of *Tellez*, who ſaith, *That the Queen of* Ethiopia *Maqueda*, underſtanding from her Merchant *Tamerin* the certainty of the Report which had bin ſpread abroad concerning the great Power and Wisdom of *Salomon*, with a great train of her Nobility, and Royal

(*m*) *Tellez* erroneouſly takes *Azeb* for a proper name, *p.* 63.

preſents

presents gave him an Interview at his own Court; where she learnt from him the true Worship of God: And at her return, after a certain space of time she brought forth her Son *Menilehec* begot by *Salomon*, and whom he had nam'd *David*. This young Prince was afterwards sent to *Jerusalem*, to his Father, where by his order and care he was Exactly instructed in the Law of God. Being grown up, he was anointed King of *Ethiopia*, and sent back into his own Kingdom, accompany'd with several noble *Israelites* and Doctors of the Law, who were joyn'd with him, as Friends and Companions, and Ministers of State; among the rest went also *Azaria*, the Son of *Zadoc* the High Priest. And this is that Prince from whom all the *Habessine* Kings and the chiefest of the Nobility derive their Pedegrees to this day.

But then follows a Tale no less insipid, then misbecoming the new King. *That these noble Jews, nefariously and Sacrilegiously took away with them the Ark of the Covenant, together with the Tables of the Ten Commandements, the Temple being carelesly lookt after, and the Gates being left open as it were by the Providence of God.* Presently the Mother, upon his return, resign'd her Kingdom to her Son *David*, obliging him and all the Nobility of the Nation, That they should never for the future admit a Woman to rule over them, but onely males of the Line of *David*.

But it has bin the Long and Serious Enquiry of the Ancients, of what Countrey and of what Progenie this same Queen of *Sheba* was. *Josephus*, while he writes the Antiquities of the *Jews*, an Author not to be contemn'd; tho in Forraign matters not so well vers'd, affirms her to be one *Nicaule*, mentioned hy *Herodotus*. And yet in the Modern Editions of *Herodotus*, there is no such Name to be found, unless she should be the same whom he calls *Nitocris*. That *Nicaule*, according to *Josephus*, was not onely Queen of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*; in which 'tis to be fear'd he is foully mistaken. However, that she came out of *Ethiopia*, many of the Ancients agree, as *Origen*, *Austin*, and *Anselm*, whom Cardinal *Toletus Cites*. Others on the contrary, declare her to have come out of *Arabia*, as *Justin*, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril*, *Alexandrinus*, Cardinal *Baronius*, *Suarez*, *Lorinus*, and at large *Pineda* in his Treatise of the Acts of *Salomon*; where he labours by ten Reasons to confirm his Opinion. Of which, those that seem to carry most weight are these: *That* Saba *is seated in* Arabia *to the South of* Judea. *That Camels, Spice, Gemms and*

Gold are more conſiſtent with Arabia *than with* Ethiopia. But theſe different Opinions are eaſily reconcil'd; if as many of the Old Writers held, the ancient *Ethiopia* extended it ſelf into *Arabia*. For they aſſert the *Sabeans* and *Homerites* to have bin Nations of *Ethiopia*, which without queſtion were formerly ſeated in *Arabia the Happy*. That Region which the *Hebrews* call by the Name of *Cuſh*, by the 70 Interpreters is rendred *Ethiopia*. From hence *Moſes* choſe his Wife, who is call'd the *Ethiopeſs*; and yet that Country is a part of *Arabia*, according to the Common acceptation now adays, whence the *Arabians* are call'd *Cuſhites*. Therefore was the *Ethiopia* of the Ancients two-fold, *Aſiatic* and *African*, or Oriental and Weſtern. For the Ancients did not limit the principal Parts of the World as we do now; while they extended *India* into *Africa*, and brought *Ethiopia* into *Aſia*, and believed that the *Indians* inhabited beyond the *Ethiopians*. Nor did they think that *Aſia* and *Africa* were diſtinct parts of the Orbe of the Earth, but onely particular Regions. *Egypt* ſeemed to belong ſometimes to *Aſia*, ſometimes to *Africa*; and others made *Nilus* to be the bounds between thoſe two Continents. And, which is moſt remarkable, the Antient *Arabia* was not of ſo large an Extent, as now the Modern is. For the *Sabeans* and *Homerites* were plac'd beyond the Limits of *Arabia*. The *Arabian* Gulph was alſo taken onely for a part or Bay of the Red Sea. All which things the Geographers of later Times have much more diſtinctly reform'd. So that altho by Us, the *Sabeans* are accounted to be a Region of the Southern *Arabia* that lyes upon the *Indian* Ocean, and conſequently toward the utmoſt Limits of Land there, yet may the Queen of *Sheba*, according to the Opinion of the Ancients, be ſaid to come out of *Ethiopia*. Nor does it argue any thing of abſurdity to conjecture that ſhe might at the ſame time command that part of *Ethiopia* which lay upon the Oppoſite Shore, and at ſo near a diſtance.

The *Arabians* made no queſtion, but that ſhe was deſcended from the Line of the Sons of *Homer*, or the *Homerites*, and that ſhe was the daughter (*n*) of King *Hod-hadi*. They call her *Belkis*, and affirm her to have bin, not the Concubine,

(*n*) He was the twenty firſt, as is to be ſeen in the Catalogue of the *Homerite* Kings, which the learned Pocock ſet forth in his Specimen of an *Arabian* Hiſtory *p.* 59.

but

but the (o) wife of *Salomon*: from whence we gather, that they themſelves believ'd that Tradition to be true, that ſhe had a Son begotten by *Salomon*. The *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* contend about this, to this very day, as if the Modern Franks ſhould contend with the *Germans* about *Charles* the *Great*. *Alphonſus Mendez* the Patriarch adheres to the Tradition of the *Abeſsines*, (p) mov'd thereto by theſe Arguments: becauſe the continuation of Officers both Civil and Military, and other cuſtomes and Ceremonies made uſe of in the Hebrew Common-wealth ſo long ſince, are ſtill obſerv'd there to this day. So that *Ethiopia* ſeem'd to him to be a certain lively repreſentation of the Ancient Hebrew Government. And his other reaſon was, for that he underſtood many places of Scripture much better ſince he came into *Ethiopia*. *Tellezius*, none of the mildeſt Cenſurers of the *Ethiopic* Traditions, in this thing, agrees throughout with the Patriarch, adding, That it ought to ſeem ſtrange to no Perſon, that *Salomon*, who took to wife the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, and alſo lov'd the *Moabitiſh*, *Idumean*, *Sidonian* and *Hethic* Women, ſhould deſire to taſt the *Ethiopic* Variety. The *Habeſsines* alſo call'd the Poſterity of their Kings *Iſraelites*: neither do they think any other perſons worthy of the Scepter but the Male Iſſue of *Menilehec*; who for that reaſon bear the Lyon in their Royal Coats, with this Impreſe, *The Lyon of the Tribe of* Judah *has overcome*: to demonſtrate that they are deſcended from the Tribe of *Judah*, and the Line of *David*: nor that *Candaces* Eunuch learnt the Orthodox Religion from any other then from the *Iſraelites*. *Gregory* alſo averr'd to me the ſame things, and that the Book wherein thoſe things were recorded, was call'd the *Glory of the Kings*, and was of great authority among them; and that no perſon in *Ethiopia* doubted of the Truth thereof. He added, That all the Offices, both Civil and Military, of which the Patriarch diſcourſes in his Letter, (q) are ſtill continu'd in the ſame Families, and that they who Enjoy them, can make it appear how long thoſe Employments have been officiated by their Anceſtors, from Generation to Generation. However, I do not think it con-

(o) *Anubian* Geographer, ſpeaking of the City *Mareb*, There, ſaith he, was *Belkis* born, the Wife of *Salomon* the Son of *David*.

(p) In his Epiſtle to *Tellezius*.

venient, to augment or leſſen the Credit of theſe things, untill thoſe *Ethiopic* Inſtitutions, Offices, Cuſtoms and Manners, of which the Patriarch ſpeaks in general, ſhall be more particularly made known to me; that I ſee the Genealogies of thoſe public Miniſters, whom *Gregory* mentions; and that I hear the anſwers to ſuch doubts as I ſhall propoſe. I find indeed the Conſent of the Nation, and the affirmation of their Kings; for *Claudius* calls his Anceſtors *Iſraelitiſh Kings*: and at the time of Inauguration, they proclaim the Creation of the *Iſraelitiſh King*: and they who are kept in the Rock *Geſhen*, bear the Name of *Iſraelites*: And laſtly, I find ſome Rites and Cuſtoms agreeing with thoſe of the *Jews*. Nor is it any wonder to me more than to *Tellezius*, or diſagreeable from *Salomon*'s practice, that after ſo many profound and knotty Riddles unloos'd, he ſhould unty the Queen of *Sheba's* Marriage Girdle. Again, if the *Habeſsines* are Colonies of the *Sabeans* and *Homerites*, it may as well be granted that the *Queen of the South* deriv'd her Pedigree from them. Yet there are many things that ſeem to perſwade the contrary. For as to the *Iſraelitiſh Rites*, we ſhall hereafter ſhew, that they might have bin introduc'd long after *Salomon*'s time upon other grounds; and that they were common as well to the Gentiles as to the Chriſtians. For if the true Worſhip of God began from that time, how came it to be preſerv'd without Synagogues, and the Sacred Volumes? But they have them not, either in the Hebrew Language, nor tranſlated into their own. Nor does the Appellation of *Iſraelitiſh Kings*, argue the Verity of their Deſcent, no more than if any one ſhould aſſert our Emperours deſcended from the Ancient *Romans*. But if, as the Poſterity of the *Iſraelites* they continue in their Offices, or are ſo ſollicitous to preſerve their Poſterity; why not as well in preſerving the Hiſtories of their Anceſtors? and in perpetuating Kindneſſes between their Relations and thoſe of the ſame Tribe or Family? why not more choice in their Marriages? more earneſt in Viſiting the Temple of *Jeruſalem*? and in giving mutual aſſiſtance to their Brethren? Eſpecially when *Rehoboam* the Brother of *Menehelec*, ſuffer'd that great Loſs of the revolt of the Ten Tribes? and when he was invaded by *Siſack* King of *Egypt*, whom no man better than the King of *Ethiopia* could have diverted? when the *Jews* were oppreſs'd by ſo many Enemies; when they were carry'd away Captive to *Babylon*? when ruin'd by the Kings of *Aſſyria*? and

when

when subdu'd by the *Romans*? For then the Passages were free thorough *Arabia* or *Egypt*; and the *Red Sea* was open. Lastly, which is of most moment, if the *Ethiopians* receiv'd their divine Ceremonies and Religion from *Salomon*, why not his human Learning? For Learning and Religion generally go together, as may be prov'd by the Examples of many Nations. But as to this, their manner of writing and reading differs very much, though some of their letters seem to be borrow'd from the *Samaritans*. Lastly, the *Jews* inhabiting up and down all over *Ethiopia*, it would be of great Concern to put these Questions to them, When? and how they came thither? What they think of these Traditions of the *Habissines*? and what they find in their Books concerning them? it not being probable that all their Books should be lost in a Country so well defended by nature? But we have made too long a Digression: now let us return to *Menilehec*.

CHAP. IV.

of Menilehec, *the Son of* Makeda, *and of his Posterity, to the interrupted Succession of the* Salomonians.

Menilehec *first King; the interpretation of his name: nothing certain of his Son or Posterity. Christ born in the Reign of* Bazen. *No mention here of Queen* Candaces. *She reign'd in* Meroe, *not in* Habessinia. Abreha *and* Atzbeha, *Brothers and Kings: first Christian Kings: A* Triumvirate *of Kings. Their Successors. The Subversion of the Kingdom of the* Homerites *by* Caleb. *He restores* Nagra *to the Christians. His Successors*: Saif-ibn-de-Jazan *advanced by the* Persians; *Slain.* Bazen *the last, submits to the* Mahumetans. *The* Greek *Histories Confused*: Caleb's *Encomium. The Martyrdom of the* Nagranites. Caleb's *Successors*: *The* Salomonean *Line interrupted.*

NOW then they acknowledg *Menilehec-El-Haqim* to be the first King. Which name some interpret, *As He.* Others, *As God created him like me.* Neither of which interpretations can be pick'd from the *Ethiopic* Language. However, *Ebn-El-Haqim*, is apparently in Arabic the *Son of Wisdome*, or of *Salomon*. *Tellezius* gives to his Son the name of *Zadgur*; whereas *Gedur*, in *Marianus Victor*'s Catalogue precedes

cedes Queen *Makeda*. Then, ſaith he, four and twenty Kings ſucceeded, till *Bazen* reign'd; and yet in the next Chapter, writes him to be the Twentieth from *Menihelec* the Son of *Salomon*: but neither does he name them, neither will we detain the Reader amidſt theſe uncertainties.

There is leſs doubt, that Chriſt our Saviour was born in the time of *Bazen*, more particularly in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign. Here is no mention made of *Candaces*, whom ſome of the *Ethiopians* acknowledg for their Queen: in this contradictory to themſelves, while they will not admit a Female to the Throne. And therefore it is more proper, that we ſhould in expounding that place in the *Acts*, *c.*8. *v.* 27. which ſpeaks of the Queen of *Ethiopia's* Eunuch, find out ſome other more probable part of *Ethiopia* bordering upon *Ægypt*: which with ſome probability we may conjecture to be the Iſland of *Meroe*; in regard that *Pliny* teſtifies, That in that Iland reign'd a Certain Woman call'd *Candace*, and that the ſucceeding Queens aſſum'd that name afterwards for many Years. After *Bazen*, for the ſpace of 327 Years *Ethiopia* was govern'd by Thirteen Kings, as *Tellezius* records it. But he mentions not one of their names, perhaps becauſe he found there was nothing of certainty. From the time that (*t*) *Abreha*, and *Atzbeha* held the Scepter, the Ethiopic Hiſtory has afforded much more clearneſs and light, and the names of the Kings are more certainly recited. Of theſe and ſeveral other Succeſſive Kings, there is mention made in the Ethiopic Liturgy, and otherwhere. For in *their Commemoration of the Dead*, there is this Ejaculation,

> *Remember, Lord,* Abreha, *and* Atzbeha, *Kings of* Ethiopia.

My Ethiopic Poet alſo gives them this Encomium.

> *Peace be to* Abreha. *and* Atzbeha,
> *They in one Kingdom did the Scepter ſway;*
> *And yet in Love, and yet in Concord ſtill,*
> *They liv'd as Princes with one Heart and Will;*

(*t*) *Abreha is an* Arabic *word, contractedly ſpoken.* Abra: *Erroneouſly taken for* Abraham, *which they pronounce* Ibrahim.

Like

Like those good Men, that with Religious awe
Walk'd in the Precepts of Mosaic *Law,*
Their Lipps the words of Christ's own Gospel tanght;
To build him Temples with their hands they wrought.

They are applauded for their Concord; rare among Brothers, who are partners in Royalty; yet that it may so happen, is clear by that great Sentence, *A Kingdom may endure Colegues in Kingship, so They can but endure themselves.* But much more were they to be Extoll'd, for embracing the Christian Religion, at what time *Frumentius* Preach'd; of which more in due place. But more then this, the *Habessines* give us another Example of a Concording and Unanimous *Triumvirate*. These Royal *Triumvers* were *Atzfa*, *Atzfed*, and *Amey*, who govern'd the Empire long and prosperously by turns, as they agreed. A thing which the *Habessines* will hardly perswade most people to believe; unless it were in reference to the hearing such businesses as afterwards requir'd common Consultation, or the executing such Decrees as were made by Common Consent; tho in such Transactions likewise there must be harmony and agreement. To them succeeded *Arado*, *Aladoba* and *Alamid*, at what time several Monks went out of *Ægypt* into *Ethiopia*, to propagate the Gospel. To *Alamid* succeeded his Son *Tacena*, and after him *Caleb* his Nephew, who flourished in the time of the Emperour *Justin*, about the Year 522. The Greek and Latin Authors call Him *Eles baan*: Perhaps from the Ethiopic name of Baptisme, *Atzbeha*, with the Arabic article *El*. *El-Atzbeha*, from whence *Eles baas*. He was famous for the Subversion of the Kingdom of the *Homerites*, and revenging the blood of the Christians slain by that Impious *Dunawas*: for which he was placed in the Kalendar of the Saints. It is a Story most worthy remembrance; wherein the Arabic and Ethiopic Historians very punctually agree with the Greeks and Latins. This (*u*) *Dunawas* was the Last King of the *Sabeans*, who were afterwards call'd *Homerites*, in opinion a *Jew*; and therefore one that afflicted the Christians with a most dire Persecution. For he caus'd large Pitts to be digg'd, and then commanded the Christians

(*u*) You have the History at large in *Baronius* Annals, who, sayes he, had the Story from an Author of an unspotted Credit, and the Writings of that time.

to

to be burnt therein in heaps, as it were for quicker diſpatch. Three hundred and forty periſh'd in this manner in the City of (*x*) *Nagra*, together with *St. Areta*, entomb'd in Fire. *Caleb*, being admoniſh'd by the Patriarch, would not endure ſo much barbarous Cruelty; but with an Army of a Hundred and twenty thouſand Men, and a Navy of 423 Veſſels, he croſs'd over into *Arabia*, and having vanquiſh'd *Dunawas*, he he utterly deſtroy'd the Kingdom of the *Homerites*, reſtor'd *Nagra* to the Chriſtians, and made *St. Areta*'s Son Governor of the place. To *Dunawas* ſucceeded *Abreha Elasbram*, *Jacſum F. Maſruk F.* but their Kingdom remain'd Seventy two years under the Yoke of the *Habeſsines*. After theſe, *Saif-ibn-Di-Jazan*, of the race of the *Homerites*, by the aſſiſtance of *Anuſherwan*, King of the *Perſians*, recover'd the Throne of his Anceſtors, but was ſoon after ſlain by the *Abeſsines*. However, the *Perſians* at that time prevalent, ſet up over the *Sabeans* other Kings, whom the *Abeſsines* oppos'd, and ſome they ſlew. And thus this Kingdom harraſs'd with continual Wars between the *Perſians* and the *Habeſsines*, at length, when the *Saracens* began to grow powerful, under *Bazen*, the laſt King, became tributarie to *Mahomet*. And by this perhaps we are to underſtand what *Abdelbachides* writes concerning a *Nagaſh* of the *Abeſſines*, whom he calls *Atzhama*, as if he had revolted to *Iſlamiſm* at the invitation of *Mahomet*. But theſe things are confuſed and imperfectly delivered by the *Arabes*, *Greekes* and *Latins*; and beſides that, the diverſity of names adds obſcurity to the Hiſtory. For as to thoſe Acts which *Procopius* attributes to *Helleſthiæus*, King of *Ethiopia*, as if he, having ſlain the King of the *Homerites*, (of which many were Jews) ſet up another in his place, *Emſiphæus* by name, and a Chriſtian, thoſe things are proper to none but *Caleb*: in regard that Kingdom being deſtroy'd by *Caleb*, could not be again ſubverted by *Ellesthiæus*. But as for thoſe things which are reported by *Cedrenus* and *Nicephorus* of *Adad* or *David*, a certain *Ethnic* King of the *Indian Axumites*, who demoliſh'd the Kingdom of the *Homerites*, and by occaſion of a former vow, became a Chriſtian, they are altogether falſe. For that there is no other Hiſtory than that which we have related of *Caleb* to this purpoſe, we ſhall hereafter

(*x*) *Negra* by *Niceph. Calliſto. l.* 18. *c.* 6. by others *Najram*

declare,

declare, when we came to discourse of the Original Christianity in *Ethiopia*. For that the corrupt names of *Damian*, of *Damnus*, from *Dunaam*, or *Dunawas*, and other Circumstances demonstrate. But 'tis no wonder the History of the *Homerites* should be so confus'd among Strangers, when the *Arabians* themselves complain, that among all other Histories that of the *Homerites* is the most imperfect.

Our Poet before cited thus praises *Caleb* in the following Lines:

Peace be to Caleb, *who with the Lawrel wreath'd,*
Behind him left such Monuments of his Power.
To Salem *he his Royal Crown bequeath'd*
An Offering to his dreaded Saviour.
For he, great Hero, from his mighty deeds,
Vain glory scorn'd, that proud ambition feeds:
The dismal Slaughter of Sabean *Host,*
So dismal that not one alive remain'd,
Swell'd not his thoughts of Victory to boast;
Yet glad to see his Sword so nobly stain'd.
Glad that by him the Homerites *enslav'd,*
Martyrs were now reveng'd, and Christians sav'd,

Concerning the Martyrs of *Nagra*, the same Poet goes on thus.

Your beauteous Starrs of Nagra *I salute;*
Such Themes would force loud Language from the Mute.
You brightly shine before the Mercy-Seat,
And like rich Gemms the world illuminate.
Oh may your Lustre reconcile my Sin
Before the Judge of what my Crimes have bin.
Shew him your blood which you for him have spilt,
And beg Pacification *for my Guilt.*

To *Caleb* succeeded *Gebra-Meskel*, *or the Servant of the Cross*, so nam'd at his Baptism, whom the Poet thus honours.

Peace to thee also, King of high renown,
That in the Strength of God so much hast won.
Yet with thanksgiving, to thy heavenly Lord
Didst still ascribe the Trophies of thy Sword.
Concord and Peace adorn'd thy happy daies

Thy reign resounded only Hymns of praise.
Glory to God thy Pious Cares oblieged;
And Peace on Earth from fear of thee proceeded.

The next to him in the *Ethiopian* Liturgy are *Constantine*, and *Fresenna*, or the good Fruit.

Then followed an Interruption or discontinuance of this Line, in the time of *Delnoad*, who reigned about the year of *Christ* 960. But then the Scepter was usurp'd by another Race, of which we are next to discourse.

CHAP. V.

Of the Zagæan *Line, and the Kings that descended from that Race.*

The Zagæan *Line originally from the wickedness of a woman: the Successors uncertain: yet some of them very Famous.*

UPon the Death of *Delnoad*, the *Zagean* Family invaded the Kingdom, and enjoy'd it Three Hundred and Forty years. They first obtain'd it by the devices of a wicked Woman. (*b*) *Essat* by Name, Stigmatiz'd for Unchastity, Sacriledge, and Avarice in the highest degree. Her Successors are uncertain, and the Names which *Marianus Victor* produces, together with the several years of their Reigns are very much to be suspected; to omit what *Tellezius* learnedly writes, *That the Queens are never inserted in the Catalogues of those that Reign.* Nevertheless, *Victorius* nominates one *Tredda-Gadez*, who Murder'd all the Posterity of the *Salomonean Family*, that he might Establish the Kingdom to his Son. Yet in the mid'st of the Slaughter, there was one young Lad of the Royal Blood, who making his Escape to the Lords of the Kingdom of *Sheva*, most passionately zealous for the *Salomonean* Line, was there privately preserv'd. The Kings of this Line are very enviously traduc'd by *Tellezius* as unjust, and unworthy to be remember'd; tho it has honour'd *Ethiopia* with many Renowned Monarchs: of whom there is still a happy Memorial both in the *Ethiopic* Li-

(*b*) *The word signifies Fire.*

turgy,

turgy, and among the Encomiums of my Poet; as *Degna Michael* and *Newaja-Christos*, or the *Wealth of Christ*, who never appears in *Victorius*'s Catalogue: However he is thus Praised by the Poet.

Peace to Newaja, *from whose Royal Loins*
Illustrious Princes born for high designs,
Ennobling more their high Descent, his Praise
Advanc'd, and thence their own Renown did raise.
No wonder he dy'd Poor; his Zeal was such
He stript himself, his Temple to enrich.
Himself had built the House of God, and scorn'd
To leave God's House behind him unadorn'd.

But the most famous, and most renowned for his Magnificent Structures was, (c) *Lalibala*, whose future Greatness was portended by a Swarm of Bees, that while he was an Infant newly born, lighted upon his tender Body, without doing him the least prejudice. Of him the Poet thus sings:

To mighty Lalibala *Peace,*
Who stately Structures rear'd,
And to adorn the Pompous piles
For no Expences spar'd.

By vast Expence and hideous pains,
The Rock a Church became:
The Roof, the Floor, the squared Sides
All one continu'd Frame.

No stones in blended Mortar lay'd
The solid parts divide;
Nature has carved all without,
Within the Workman's Pride.

But newly born, and hardly swath'd,
The tender Infant lay;
When strait a Wonder, that portends
The Honour of that day.

(c) Alvarez *makes mention of him*, c. 54. and 55. *where he relates the same Story of the swarm of Bees.*

A Swarm of Bees, Prophetic ſwarm!
His Princely Head ſurround,
Thus Jove *himſelf on* Ida *Mount*
The Martial Inſect Crown'd.

It was their Errand thus to ſhew
The grandeur of the Child;
That he ſhould Conquer and Command,
And yet be wondrous mild.

That done, as if by ſight the face
Of Majeſty they knew,
With ſuch a fear as aw'd their ſtings,
Away again they flew.

This great Monarch when he came to Rule, ſent for Artiſts out of *Egypt*, and after a wonderful and unheard of manner of Building to that day, he did not cement Stones or Bricks together with Lime, or Lome, nor joyn the Roof together with Rafters, but hollow'd whole ſolid Rocks, leaving Pillars for Ornament where Pillars were requiſite, the Arches and Walls being all of the ſame Stone. Nor do the Rocks of *Ethiopia* withſtand that kind of Structure, for that moſt of them advance equilaterally toward the Sky, as if they had bin ſquar'd by Art; and beſides, the Stone is ſo ſoft and tender, that the Tools of the Artiſts eaſily make their way. *Alvarez* gives an accompt of Ten Temples fram'd after this wonderful manner, which were Four and twenty years finiſhing. He ſaw them all, and gives you a draught of them in Picture, and leſt any one ſhould doubt of the Truth of what he ſays, he confirms his Relation with an Oath. This Magnificent King reign'd Forty years; and after him his Son *Imra* rul'd as many. The laſt of this Race was *Naacueto-Laab*. Of him the Poet thus,

Hail Naacueto-Laab, *thy Renown*
I ſing, and all the Glories of thy Crown
In Peace and Love, which thou didſt love, thy Raign
Concord and Peace did mutually ſuſtain.
And thnt no fear of Death might him diſmay,
God plac'd him where there is no end of Day.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

Of the Salomonean *Line, reſtor'd again by* Icon-an-lac.

The Salomonean *Family reſtor'd. The Succeſſors of* Icon Im lac. Etana-Denghel *preferred before his Elder Brother.* Helena *a Woman of a great Spirit.* David's *various Fortune.* Claudius *ſucceeds him: who reſtores his ruin'd Kingdom by the Aſſiſtance of the* Portugueſes. *His Encomium and miſerable Death. The Succeſſion decided by Arms.* Menas *ſucceeds; his Cruelty.* Bahrnagaſſus *revolts.* Malac-Seghed *ſucceeds; better than his Father: Proſperous in War, not in Marriage. He deſigns his Brother his Succeſſor; but repents, and Prefers his Natural Son* Jacob: *He recommends his lawful Son to the Nobility upon his Death-Bed; but they Impriſon him.* Suſneus *in the ſame Danger, but Eſcapes. They make* Jacob *a Child King: afterwards Depoſe him, and place* Za-Dengel *in his room; his Mildneſs and Fortitude: a bold act of his. His Kindneſs to* Pays, *and the* Latins *cauſe him to be hated. A Conſpiracy againſt him: he Conſults the* Portugueſes; *deſpiſed the Counſel of* Pays: *He loſes the Day, and dies in the Field.*

THE *Zagean* Family being thus Extinct, about the year of Chriſt 1300. The Nobility of *Shewa* reſtor'd *Icon-Imlac*, a Prince of the *Salomonean* Race to the Scepter of his Anceſtors; whoſe Poſterity have continu'd in *Habeſsinia* to our time. *Tellezius* reckons up Sixteen Kings to *Zar-a-Jacob*, (*d*) which we ſhall inſert out of *Vecchietti*, adding the *Ethiopic* Names of them which we have found mention'd in the Liturgy, or elſewhere. *Icon-amlac*, or as the *Ethiopians* write him,

1. *Aycuna-amiac.*
2. *Jagrea-Tzegon.*
3. *Bahar Sarda.*
4. *Eſbraad.*
5. *Cadem-Saghed.*
6. *Zen-Saghed.*
7. *Vdimrad.*
8. *Amde Tzegon.*
9. *Scifaarad.*
10. *Udmaasfan.*
11. *David.*
12. *Theodorus.*

Of whom the Poet thus makes mention in his 29 *Encomium*, June 3.

(*d*) *In his Accompt of Sacred Times, L. VI. Ult. Succeſs.* c. 44.

Hail

Hail Theodore, *wide* Ethiopia's *King*;
Thee, by thy Name Anbasa, *must I sing.*
For thee thy Mother Tzejon-Mogusa
T' adorn thy great Inauguration Day,
Whole Heards of Sheep, and fatted Oxen slew:
And not she only, for the Clouds to shew
Themselves contributary to thy Feast,
Rain'd Fish from Heaven, to supply the rest.

13. *Isaac.*
14. *Andreas.*
15. *Hesbinaani*, whose Son was,
26. *Amde-Jesus.*

To him succeeded *Zar-a-Jacob*, by the Name of his Inauguration, *Constantine.* An Emperor of great Renown, and inquisitive after Foreign Affairs: for he sent his Ambassadors to the Council of *Florence*; of which more in due place.

Baeda-Marjam, as I Collect out of *Alvarez*, came to the Crown, about the year 1465. and dy'd Ten years after, leaving his Widow *Helena* behind him, of whom more anon.

Alexander ascended the Throne about the year 1475. and dy'd in the year 1491. At what time *Peter Covillian* found the way into *Ethiopia*; the first *Portuguese* that did so.

Amda-Tzejon (*e*) his Son, reign'd but a short time, and dying without Male Issue, made way for his Uncle.

Naod, The Son of *Baeda-Marjam*, who while his Brother *Alexander* possess'd the Government, was shut up in the Rock *Gheshen*; but the Male Issue failing, he was call'd forth by the Nobility, and reign'd Thirteen years. He dy'd about the year 1505.

Etana Dengel, or *Lebna-Denghel*, call'd afterwards *David*, by his Inauguration Name. Some few years expir'd, he assum'd a third Name, *Wanag-Saghed*, which *Tzagazab* interprets,

(*e*) *This Succession is taken out of* Tellez, *and agrees with the vulgar Order of the* Ethiopic *Kings, which* Gregory *himself did not contradict.* Alvarez *here err'd very much, or else forgot himself: for he apparently leaves out* Ambda-Tzeon. c. 59. *and makes* Alexander *the Father of* Naod, c. 98. and 89. *when he was really his Brother. He also calls* Helena *the Mother of* David, *when she was his Grandmother; but only look'd upon as his Mother in respect of her care. Neither is* Tellezius *without his Mistakes, for* L. 2. c. 4. *He omits* Ambda-Tzion, *and writes that* Helena *never had any Children.*

Enkua-

Enkua-Saged, or the Precious Gem. He was the ſecond Son of *Naod* by his Wife *Mogeſa*, the Nephew of *Baeda-Marjam*. For the Eldeſt, whom *Naod* begat in the Rock of *Amhamra*, *Helena* and *Marcus*, the Metropolitan, who had then the Government in their hands, did not think worthy to Rule, by reaſon of his Pride and Cruelty; adding, That he was born when his Father was but in a private Capacity before he came to the Crown: unleſs it were, that they thought that they ſhould carry a greater ſway during the Minority of the young Prince. For then was *David* but Eleven years of Age; as he himſelf declares in his Letter to King *Emanuel*.

Helena therefore his Grandmother, took upon her the Management of Affairs, as his Tut'reſs, being preferr'd before the Mother; in regard the Junior Queens always give place to the Senior, and then too ſhe is always look'd upon as the King's Mother. A Woman of great Prudence and Courage, that has left a great Fame behind her ſtill in *Ethiopia*; inſomuch, that King *Suſneus* would often praiſe her for her Virtue and Moderation. She is famous among the *Europeans* for her Letters ſent to *Emanuel* the Firſt, King of *Portugal*, of which we ſhall hereafter ſpeak more at large. *David* at the beginning of his Reign very proſperous in his Undertakings (for he had won ſeveral Victories from the *Adelans*) after his Grandmothers Deceaſe, as if he had now the Curb in his teeth, giving himſelf up to Luxury, and the love of Women, was very Unfortunate toward the end of his days. For being driven out of all his Kingdoms and Territories, he was forc'd to betake himſelf with ſome few Soldiers to the Rock *Damo*, where he dy'd in the Forty ſixth year of his Age. In this the more unhappy, that during his Reign, the Nation of the *Gallans*, the Scourge of *Habeſſinia* made their firſt Incurſions out of *Bali*. He had four Sons; of whom, the firſt *Victor*, dy'd before the Father; of the other three we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in due place. He was very well vers'd in Holy Writ, and in the three firſt Councils, as may be underſtood by his Diſcourſes with *Alvarez*.

Claudius, by his other Name call'd *Atznaff-Saghed*, the Son of *David*, came to a Kingdom miſerably ſhatter'd, and overburthen'd with Calamity; and lurking in the utmoſt Confines of his Dominions, there attended ſome miraculous aſſiſtance

ſtance from Heaven; which ſoon after anſwer'd his Expectation; *John* the Second, King of *Portugal* ſending him Succour, under the Conduct of that moſt Valiant and Noble Portugueſe *Chriſtopher Gamas*, who with a ſmall Band of Four hundred *Portugueſe* Foot Soldiers, overthrew vaſt Armies of the *Barbarians*, and laid the Foundations of regaining the *Habeſsinian* Empire. *Claudius* was a man of a moſt Princely Port. For beſides the outward Grace of his Perſon, he was endu'd with many Virtues of the Mind, which made him judg'd by all worthy of the Royal Dignity. The Fathers of the Society applauded him for a moſt Prudent Prince, though otherwiſe not ſo well pleaſed with him, becauſe he had not ſhew'd that Affection to the *Roman* See, as they requir'd; though he did not prohibit the Divine Worſhip of the *Latin* Church; nor hinder'd the *Roman* Prieſts from the free Exerciſe of their Religion. He was alſo Learned, and well inſtructed in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity. So that, as *Tellezius* witneſſes, his Teachers ſeem'd illiterate in compariſon of their Scholar. For in Diſputes with the Fathers of the Society, he himſelf for the moſt part would argue, with ſo much vehemence, that ſometimes he put them hard to it to make him an Anſwer. And when he obſerv'd that the *Habeſsines* were blam'd for retaining certain *Judaic* Rights contrary to the Chriſtian Laws, he put into Writing a ſuccinct Confeſſion of Faith, by which he clear'd all Objections, and excus'd himſelf and his Subjects. That Confeſſion we formerly (*f*) ſet forth, and ſhall publiſh again in our Commentary: So that the Fathers of the Society could object nothing but Schiſm againſt ſo great and famous a Monarch. He reign'd Eighteen years and ſome Months, with great toil and trouble, by reaſon of his continual Wars with the *Adelans*, who mindful of the overthrows they had receiv'd, frequently attempted Revenge. The King ſtout of hand and indefatigable, never refus'd Battel, till at laſt in the Month of *March*, 1559. fighting againſt *Nurus*, the Captain of the *Adelans*, his Army being vanquiſh'd, guarded only with Eighteen *Portugueſes*, and Combating more furiouſly than warily, he fell by an Immature but not unrevenged Death. He left no Children behind him; whence it came to paſs,

(*f*) *In* England, *Anno* 1667. *It is alſo added to our* Ethiopic *Lexicon and Grammar.*

that

that the Right of Succeſſion being very ambiguous in *Ethiopia*, the Contention was long dubious between his Brother *Menas*, and *Taſcar*, the Natural Son of *Jacob*, the ſecond Brother deceaſed. For this claim'd the Kingdom in right of his Father, while he liv'd, the Elder Brother, the other alledg'd himſelf to be the nearer in Blood, than he who was Illegitimate. The Controverſie being decided by the Sword, *Tascar* was taken in the Battel, and thrown headlong down a Rock.

Menas, otherwiſe (*g*) *Adamas-Saghed*, having obtain'd the Kingdom by Arms, being of a Cruel Diſpoſition, degenerated altogether from the Lenity, Sincerity, and Piety of the *Habeſsines*; as if he had learnt the ſavageneſs of the *Turks* and *Arabians*, among whom he had been long a Captive: For he hated the *Portugueſes*, as minding their own Affairs; and forbid the uſe of the *Roman* Religion, not ſuffering any of the *Habeſsines* to go into the *Latin* Churches. He alſo revok'd the Liberty which his Predeceſſor *Claudius* had granted to the Wives and Families of the *Portugueſes* to frequent the *Roman* Chappels; which caus'd many to wiſh again for the Clemency of *Claudius*, with which they were not contented however before. He deſpis'd the Romiſh Biſhop *Andrew Oviedo*, who in the Reign of *Claudius*, was ſent to make way for the new Patriarch; and for ſome Months kept him in Priſon. Nor was he much more kind to his own Subjects. For which reaſon, out of an averſion to his Proceedings, they revolted from him in ſeveral Parts. Among the reſt, *Iſaac Bahrnagaſſus*, a man in great Power, and skill'd in Military Diſcipline, calling the *Turks* to his Aſſiſtance upon the Twentieth of *April*, 1562. overcame the King in Battel, and ſlew him: to the great detriment of *Habeſsinia*. For ever ſince that time, the *Turks* have been Maſters of the Coaſt of the Red Sea. He left three Sons, *Sarza-Denghel*, *Leſanax*, and *Tazcar*. Of which the laſt dy'd without Children.

Sarza-Denghel, taking the Government upon him, call'd himſelf *Malac-Saghed*, and was Inaugurated after the ancient manner at *Axuma*. His Fortune was equal to his Vertues; for he was ſtout of Hand, and wiſe in Counſel. And firſt he drave the *Turks*, who were Maſters of *Dobarva*, the Me-

(*g*) *Erroneous here, ſome Hiſtorians ignorant that the word ſignifies a Gem, call him* Adam.

tropolis of the Maritime Province, out of *Tigra*. He would alſo have driven them out of the Port of *Arkiko*, and the Iſle of *Matzua*, had he not been recall'd to defend his Upland Dominions from the Incurſions of the *Galans*. Theſe People by the Rapines and Plunder of five and twenty years, while the *Habeſsines* were buſied in ſo many other Wars increaſed to that power, that now they over ran *Habeſsinia* not with ſcattering Troops, but with compleat Armies. So that all the time of his Reign, though otherwiſe proſperous in War, he was forc'd to ſtruggle with them. However he ſubdu'd *Enarea*, and caus'd the Prince thereof to turn Chriſtian. For he carefully obſerv'd the Chriſtian Religion, according to the Conſtitutions of the Church of *Alexandria*. The *Latin* Rites he left indifferent. And for the Fathers of the Society; he often commended their Converſation of Life, and their Studies, but deſpiſed their Doctrine, ſaying, That their Manners, and not their Doctrine was to be imitated. Certainly Manners and Doctrine do not always accord. And therefore, *ſometimes the Doctrine is to be approv'd, where the Manners are not Correſpondent; and ſometimes the Manners are to be imitated, where the Doctrine is not to be follow'd.* But tho he were Proſperous in his Affairs of Government and War; yet in his Marriage he was unfortunate; for his Wife *Mariamſena* brought him many Daughters, but not one Son. He had two Natural Sons, of which one was call'd *Za-Marjam*, and the other *Jacob*; but they could not ſucceed by the Laws of the (*h*) Kingdom. And therefore it fell out with him as with many others, who are more addicted to illicit Concubinage, than lawful Matrimony, that they want Succeſſors from their own Loins; and frequently expoſe their Kingdoms to War and Bloodſhed upon Diſputes of Succeſſion. Firſt, therefore he ſhew'd to the Nobility *Za-Denghel*, his Brother *Lecanax*'s Son, as the Son of a Prince adorn'd in Royal Habit. Then again, ſome few Months before his Death, he began to change his mind, either envying a greater Adoration to the Riſing than the Setting Sun; or whether it were that *Za-Denghel* himſelf, certain of the Succeſſion gave the leſs re-

(*h*) Tellezius *tells us*, l. 3. c. 14. *that the* Ethiopian *Laws will not allow Baſtards to ſucceed. Which nevertheleſs is not agreeable with what he ſays in another place*, l. 3. c. 29.

ſpect

ſpect to his Uncle, or whether his Diſpoſition were not grateful to the Nobility. However it were, *Jacob*, a Child of Seven years of Age, never ſeen before to the King, came to Court; which was no obſcure intimation, that he would be preferr'd before *Za-Denghel*, as being of the King's own Blood. The Grandees, whether they durſt not admoniſh the King; or whether they had an intention to uſurp the Government, under pretence of being Guardians to the Minor, conſented to the King: But ſoon after they taught us to underſtand how uncertain the Tranquillity of Kingdoms is, where the Right of Succeſſion is uncertain, or that there are no Rules; but that the grand Affairs of a Kingdom are at the diſpoſal of Courtiers, intent upon their own Intereſt. Nevertheleſs, moſt wonderful to relate, when the King upon his return from the War with the *Gallans*, fell ſick, and found himſelf near his end, Right and Juſtice more prevail'd with him, than Hatred againſt his Brother's Son, or love to his own Illegitimate, and therefore calling before him the chief of his Nobility, he is reported to have ſpoken thus:

Seeing that the end of my life Approaches, I thought that next the Care of my Soul, that of my Kingdom was the chiefeſt, the ſafety of which I have always held no leſs dear to me, than the Salvation of my own Soul. True it is, that having none Legitimate, I always lov'd Jacob *as my own. And I have obſerv'd in him Endowments of Mind not unworthy ſo fair an Inheritance; ſo that I could not have had any reaſon to repent, had I Eſtabliſh'd him my Succeſſor; nor you, had you yielded him Obedience. But now I prefer the Love of my Country, and the Laws of the Kingdom before my private Affection. Therefore it is, that I recommend to your Allegiance* Za-Denghel *my Brother's Son, my neareſt Kinſman, ſtout in War, Mature in years, conſpicuous for his Virtues, and one that by thoſe Virtues Merits the high Dignity which is due to him by Birth.* Having thus ſaid, in a ſhort while after he expir'd. *An.* 1596.

But as it was a thing abſolutely unexpected by the Nobility, that the King would change his Mind; ſo the Management of Affairs among themſelves during the Minority of the King, was that which they had already deeply fix'd in their minds; nay more, they had under-hand already divided the great Offices of the Kingdom. And therefore repining to find the Power thus as it were raviſh'd out of their hands, they perfidiouſly enter into a Conſpiracy. To which purpoſe they conceal the Death of the King, and ſending away

ſome few Bands of Soldiers drawn together in haſt, they cauſe *Za-Denghel* to be apprehended, and carry'd away into the Iſland of *Udeka*, lying in the *Tzanic Lake*; and then changing his Impriſonment from Rock to Rock, carry'd him up and down to prevent his Conſpiring with the Neighbouring People. The ſame Trap was lay'd for *Suſneus*; for that they fear'd leaſt he being youthful, and brave, ſeeing the Order of the Succeſſion ſo diſturb'd, ſhould put in for a ſhare and aſſert his Claim; as afterwards he did. But he eſcap'd in good time to the *Gallans*, where he fix'd himſelf among them againſt the threatning Danger, reſolving if need requir'd to make uſe of their Aſſiſtance. The Chiefs of the Faction were *Ras-Athanaſius*, a man of high Authority; and *Keſlawahed*, Viceroy of *Tigra*, who having cajol'd into the Conſpiracy, the Queen Dowager his Mother-in-Law, covetous of preſerving her Power, by means of her Son's nonage, as it were under colour of lawful Power, they preſently ſet the Crown upon the head of *Jacob*, then a Child of Seven years of Age, and therefore call'd the Infant King; reſerving the management of Affairs to themſelves. A *trium-virate* unuſual with a Woman, and therefore not like to endure long. For, ſeven years after *Jacob* coming to be of Age, impatient of ſo many Tutors, aſſum'd the Reins of Government into his own hands; perhaps more imperiouſly than might become a Lad of 15 years of Age. The Guardians therefore taking it ill to be ſo ſoon depriv'd of their Power, ſeeing their Obedience would immediately follow, choſe rather to obey their lawful King, and render themſelves deſerving of his new Favours. Therefore before *Jacob* could fix himſelf in his Throne, as it were induc'd out of Repentance, that they had preferr'd an Infant and Illegitimate before a lawful Succeſſor and of ripe Age, they recall *Za-Denghel* then lurking in the moſt remote Mountains of the Kingdom, and ſalute him King by the Name of *Aſnaff-Saghed*; which they did the ſooner, and that with the more ſpeed, that they might have the leſs reaſon to give an Accompt of what was done, to the new King.

Jacob with only Eight of his Guard, for the reſt had deſerted him with his Fortune, haſtens to *Samena* to his Mothers Kindred; but being known in his flight and taken, he was brought back to *Za-Denghel*, who ſhewing the Effects of a ſtrange Compaſſion, receiv'd his Rival with a ſingular Affe-

ction

ction and Clemency, and truſting to his own Right, would never incur the cenſure of being Cruel in cutting off his Noſe and Eyes, which was uſually done to others in the ſame Condition, and to which he himſelf was advis'd. For he ſcorn'd to pollute himſelf with a Crime after the manner of Tyrants, who diſtruſtful of their own Right, or the Peoples Affections, count it a piece of Policy to cut off their Rivals in Empire, how innocent ſoever, imputing to them before-hand the future Crimes that may happen to be committed not by them, but any Promoters of Sedition: However he ſent the degraded King into *Enarea*, the moſt remote Kingdom of *Habeſsinia*, under a ſtrict Guard, in a ſhort time to be reſtored to the Kingdom to his own Ruin.

Za-Denghel, for Grace of Utterance and Majeſty of Countenance was equally Venerable (as are moſt of the Princes of the Royal Blood of *Habeſsinia*) in the moſt flouriſhing years of pleaſing Youth; and through his Experience of Adverſity and Proſperity worthy of the high degree, to which he had arriv'd; and which was more than all, mild and ready to Forgive. For among all the crow'd of ſo many Enemies, he never puniſh'd any, as by Law he might have done: but without any diſgrace, ſuffer'd them to continue in their ſeveral Offices, and in the ſame degrees of Honour even the Queen her ſelf: ſo mild and gentle even to a fault is the Diſpoſition of thoſe Kings, ſaith *Tellezius*. Moreover he behav'd himſelf with an undaunted Courage in all ſorts of Danger: For he had hardly graſp'd the Helm of Government in his hands, when the *Gallans* underſtanding the Diviſions at Court fell into *Habeſsinia* with three Armies, and overthrew the Governor of *Gojam*, who preſum'd to fight againſt the King's Command, whereupon the King arriving ſoon after, leading an Army tir'd by a long March, with a greater Courage than Force, he aſſail'd the Enemy; who puffe up with Victory, bore down the *Habeſsines* with ſo much Violence, that the Captains finding their Battalions recoil, perſwaded the King to betake himſelf to an early flight. When he, diſdaining the motion, as arguing Effeminacy, leapt from his Horſe, and advancing with his Sword and Buckler, cry'd out, *Here will I die; you if you pleaſe, may flye; perhaps you may eſcape the fury of the* Gallans, *but never the Infamy of deſerting your King.*

The

The *Habeſsines* mov'd with ſuch a Speech, and the Countenance of their Prince, caſt themſelves into a Globe, and with a Prodigious fury, like Men prepar'd to dye, broke in among the *Gallans*, and conſtrain'd them to give back; which the Fugitives perceiving preſently return'd, and renewing the Fight, gain'd a glorious Victory with ſuch a Slaughter of the Enemy, that a greater had not been made among them at any other time. The King believing that the Advantages of ſuch a Victory were not to be let ſlip, did not indulge himſelf to be as ſoon overcome with Banquets and Luxury, under pretence of Refreſhment, but with a ſwift March, led his Army over Mountains and Rocks, againſt the other Body of the Enemy, which with the ſame ſucceſs he put to Flight; The third Army, not daring to withſtand the force of the *Habeſsine*, retreated into the Faſtneſſes of their Country. Of theſe, Four hundred thought themſelves ſecure with their Prey, in a ſteep, and almoſt inacceſſible Mountain. But the *Habeſsines* now contemning their Enemies, already terrify'd with the Slaughter of their own People; couragiouſly drave them from their Holds, and ſlew them every Mothers Son.

About the ſame time *Peter Pays* a Jeſuit, arriving in *Habeſsinia*, at the Requeſt of the King went to Court, and ſo oblig'd him with ſeveral Diſcourſes concerning Matters as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, that at firſt privately, then publickly he embrac'd the *Latin* Religion, which he teſtify'd by Letters as well to the Pope, as to the King of *Spain*, then *Philip* the Third; and preferr'd the *Portugueſes* before his own *Habeſsinians*. But this ſame Kindneſs of his to Strangers, and a Foreign Religion, begat him the Hatred of his People, and caus'd his own Deſtruction. For the Nobility of the Kingdom took it in great diſdain to ſee their Ancient Religion chang'd, and that the Patriarch of *Alexandria* ſhould be deſerted: And they were the more enflam'd out of their Envy to the *Portugals*, and the Rancour which they bore to *Laeca-Marjam*, the King's principal Friend. Therefore they Conſpire againſt him among themſelves. The Head of the Faction was one *Saſlac*, born of mean Parentage, but of great fame for his Experience in War, and for that reaſon proud. He was exil'd by *Jacob*, but recall'd by *Za-Denghel*, and made Governor of *Dembea*; conſequently ungrateful, and out of an inbred Stubborneſs, frowardly diſdaining Obedience. *Ras-*

Athanaſius

Athanasius was drawn into this Society, a famous Captain, and a Man of great Conduct; and being first in Dignity, frown'd to see that he was but Second in the King's Favour; and therefore he proves a Traitor to a most excellent King, as one that had forgot who set the Crown upon his Head. But the Cause of Religion was the main pretence; the most prevalent to put the Minds of People into disorder: for they were not ignorant what Preparations were making at Court for the introducing of the *Latin* Religion. Frequent Complaints were therefore divulg'd abroad, *That the King was Revolted from the Church of* Alexandria, *the Common Mother Church: and that there was nothing intended by his frequent Discourses and familiarity with the Jesuits, but the Abrogation of the Institutions of their Ancestors, and the Introduction of new Ceremonies and Foreign Priests into the Kingdom. That the* Portugals *would come in and establish their Religion by force of Arms; and when they had done that, would endeavour also to take the Kingdom from them. That it behov'd them to succour their Distressed Countrey, and that such a King was not to be endur'd, who had first deserted the True Worship of God.* These things were easily inculcated into those that were of the same mind before. But there was nothing which alienated so much the minds of the People, as that the *Portugueses* had been heard to say, *That the Reduction,* so they call'd the *Conversion of* Ethiopia, *was but vainly attempted, if it could not be upheld by force of Arms.* The King, having detected the Conspiracy, calls the *Portugueses* together, confiding in them, as Foreigners and Men of the *Latin* Religion: then marching with all speed toward *Gojam*, he was deserted by the way, first by *Ras-Athanasius*, whom tho he suspected, he durst not apprehend; then by *Jonael*, one of his Principal Captains. Their example many others following, forsake the King. The King seeing himself left with a slender Guard, applying himself to *Peter Pays*, spoke these words, *This therefore befalls me, because I am desirous to shew them the way of Truth, and to set free the Weak from the Oppression of the more Powerful.* Thereupon *Peter*, and the Commander of the *Portugueses*, *John Gabriel*, advis'd him *to Protract the War, till the heat of the Rebels fury waxed cool; that his Friends with his Innocent Subjects would repair to his Assistance; that the rest would in time come to themselves, and repent their folly: That Sedition was like a Torrent, violent at first, but that it abated by degrees.*

But

But the King impatient of delay, look'd upon Protraction as a Diminution of his Honour; and being too full of Courage, and in his boyling Youth, resolv'd to try the Fortune of War, that rarely accompanies rashness, before the Rebels should encrease their Numbers. So he Marches with a small Army of scarce Twelve thousand Men, thinking to fall upon them e're they were aware of his coming. This over-hastiness had but ill success. For most of his Adversaries were Men experienc'd in War, who did not follow their business negligently; and besides they were as eager to come to a Field decision, before the King should gather Strength.

In the mean time the Enemies of the new Religion Rendevouz'd together from all Parts; and among the rest *Abuna Peter*, the *Alexandrian* Metropolitan, and chief Head of the Rebellion; who by an unheard-of President in *Ethiopia*, contrary to the Laws of God and Man, absolv'd the Rebels from the tye of their Oaths which they had Sworn to their lawful Prince, which they themselves had already broke, by virtue of a detestable Excommunication of his Prince. Thus more and more embold'nd, and contemning the Majesty of the King, they turn'd their Veneration into Hatred. And so with mutual Animosity they joyn Battel. The *Portugueses*, who fought in the right wing, maintain'd their ground a long time, believing the Kings and the Cause of Religion to be their own. But in the left Wing, of which the King himself took charge, all things went to rack; for many fled over to the Enemy, many look'd on without striking a stroke, resolv'd to follow the Fortune of the Day. Thus the King forsaken by his own, fought bravely for a long time, till *Laeca-Marjam*, and the rest of his Guard being slain, he was himself struck down from his Horse with the sling of a Lance. After that getting up again to renew the Fight, he was stuck through the body, and slain with several Darts thrown at a distance; reverence of his person not permitting them to come near to hurt him. The third day after the Fight, he was taken up and buried without any Funeral Pomp in a little Chappel hard by the Field of the Battel. Such was the end of the short Life and Reign of this Famous and Lawful King of *Ethiopia*. A doleful Warning to admonish us, that the Cause of Religion ought to be moderately and prudently handled. And that it behoves a Prince

not

not to thruſt himſelf raſhly into a Battel, eſpecially when there is no certain Succeſſor. For proof whereof, the fatal Example of *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal* may ſerve among the reſt.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Kings of this Centurie, To our Times.

Suſneus *aſpires to the Crown; acknowledg'd by* Ras-Athanaſius. *He requeſts the ſame from* Zaslac. *Who refuſes at firſt; then ſubmits. But* Jacob *appearing, he takes his part: So does* Ras-Athanaſius. Jacob *again made King. He deſires an agreement with* Suſneus, *but in vain. They take Arms.* Zaſlac *beaten: he goes over to* Suſneus; *A new War.* Jacob *and* Abuna *ſlain. The Victor's Clemency.* Zaſlac *impriſon'd; he eſcapes; invades* Waleka *and* Gojam. *Kill'd by the Pagans.* Ras-Athanaſius *dyes.* Suſneus *kind to the* Portugals *and Jeſuits. He ſubmits to the Pope. A Counterfeit* Jacob; *but dares not ſtand the coming of* Suſneus. *An Impoſtor of the ſame kind comes into* France. *His Conditions; his Epitaph.* Alibi *boaſts himſelf the Son of* Arzo. Suſneus's *Nativity, Conditions, Vertues, Vices, and Death. His Son* Baſilides *drives the Jeſuits out of* Ethiopia. *He kills his Brothers. A General Table of the laſt Kings of* Habeſſinia.

KIng *Zadenghel* being thus ſlain, the War indeed ceas'd, yet Peace did not preſently enſue. For the Rebels not dreaming of ſuch a ſpeedy Victory, had not conſider'd of a Succeſſor. Wherefore, as it were ſtupid with Emulation, *Ras-Athanaſius* departs for *Gojam*, and *Zaſlac* for *Dembea*, without ever holding any common Conſultation. Thereupon *Suſneus*, hearing of the King's death, and believing that the Kingdom was now fallen to Him, as being the Son of *Baſilides*, the Nephew of *Jacob*, and Grandchild of *David*; and then being alſo a Young man, train'd up in the *Gallan* Wars, belov'd and ſurrounded with the choiceſt of the Military Bands, he conceiv'd no ſmall hopes of his deſign. Firſt therefore he ſends before one of the Faithfulleſt of his Friends to *Ras-Athanaſius*, with inſtructions to declare to him in ſhort, *That whereas the Kingdom belong'd to him by right of Inheritance, he ſhould come preſently and joyn Forces with his.* In the mean time, *Suſneus*, not expecting an Anſwer, follows the Meſſenger with the nimbleſt of his Army, and writes to *Athanaſius* as if

already made King, *That he was at hand, and that therefore he ſhould come to meet him and pay him the accuſtom'd honours due to him.* *Athanaſius* amaz'd at the unexpected approach of *Suſneus*, void of Counſel, the Danger being Equal on both ſides, either to refuſe or admit him, at length, finding all aſſiſtance far diſtant, and no hopes of delay, to give him time to conſult with *Zaslac*, he rather choſe to be before-hand with the new King's Favours, than to hazard the uncertain Fortune of a Battel. So that *Suſneus*, being honourably receiv'd into the Camp, was ſaluted *King*. Which done, he preſently writes to *Zaſlac*, *That by the Providence of God he had recovered the Throne of his Anceſtors; and was now marching for* Dembea: *therefore he ſhould take Care that there might be Forces there ready to receive him, and thoſe deſerved Favours which he was ready to beſtow upon them.* But he, tho aſtoniſh'd at the ſuddain News, was unwilling to acknowledg him for King, whom he had not made himſelf; and therefore conſulting with his Friends, return'd for anſwer, *That he would then obey him, if* Jacob, *to whom he had already by Meſſage offer'd the Kingdom, did not come before* June; *and therefore begg'd that ſhort delay.* *Suſneus*, no way pleas'd with the Condition, wrote back to him again, *That he was King already, and therefore would give place neither to* Jacob, *once before adjudg'd unworthy, nor to his Father* Malec-Saghed, *though he ſhould return from the other World.* *Zaſlac*, having receiv'd this ſurly Anſwer, equally mettleſom and diligent, turns his Arms upon him, and comes on briskly to meet him. *Suſneus* finding himſelf prevented with the ſpeedy March of his Adverſary, and perceiving himſelf overmatch'd, and, which was worſe, not well in health, retir'd to the Craggy Mountains of *Amhara*. *Ras-Athanaſius* alſo, whoſe precipitancy *Zaſlac* had upbraided, retreated into other Faſtneſſes to avoid the Fury of his Aſſociate. In the mean time there being no News of *Jacob*, the other Captains and Commanders of the Army began to ſcatterwords of diſcontent, *That they would not be without a King, that if* Jacob *would not come, there was no Perſon fitter than* Suſneus, *neither would he be at reſt, till he had obtain'd by force, what they would not give him by fair means.* *Zaslac*, fearing the Inconſtancy of his own People, and conſequently a Revolt, orders Commiſſioners to be ſent; and by them ſurrenders the Scepter to *Suſneus*, who preſently ſent a Perſon to whom Allegiance ſhould be ſworn in his Name. Which being done, Ten of the chiefeſt Peers ride forth to meet

meet the new King, and to conduct him with a Pomp befitting into the Camp. And now Shouts and Acclamations are to be every where heard. Neither were Banquets wanting, with all other Solemnities usual at the Inaugurations of their Kings; when on a sudden new Commissioners from *Jacob*, quite disturb'd their mirth, with such a suddain alteration, as with which Fortune never more odly mock'd before the hopes of those that thought themselves in the possession of a Throne. For *Jacob* twice Depos'd, twice restor'd, between the Highest and the Lowest, (which is most rare) had twice Experience of the Mean betwixt both. While the Promoters of these Troubles exercis'd their Hatred and their Love without fear of punishment, that one might think it the sport of Scenes, rather than a serious possession of Royalty. For immediatly *Zaslac*, without any hesitation, rode forth to meet *Jacob*, as if he had bin *Susneus* himself, to whom he had but just before sworn Fidelity, and receiv'd him with the usual Honours due to *Ethiopic* Majesty, and with his whole Army saluted him King, the Commissioners, sent to *Susneus*, being privately recall'd. *Susneus*, knowing Time was to be watch'd, once more gave way to Fortune, and retir'd to his former lurking holes, aud hid himself again in the Natural Fortresses of *Ambara*. For he had learnt from the Example of *Zadenghel*, to give way to Popular Heats and Tumults, till they cool'd of themselves: for that the People after their first Passions are spent, resume their former Modesty, and return repenting to their duty. *Ras-Athanasius* also, tho so great a Person, yet accustom'd to follow Fortune, rather than his Faith, he, I say, with the same Easiness that he had acknowledg'd *Susneus*, fell at the feet of *Jacob*.

And now *Jacob*, did not think it prudent to suffer a Rival in his Dignity, and therefore resolving to try what might be done by way of agreement, he commanded *Susneus*'s Mother to go to her Son, and offer him the Kingdoms of *Ambara*, *Waleka*, and *Shewa*, as also all the Lands which his Father possess'd, and he had hitherto claim'd in vain. But *Susneus* bearing a lofty Soul, deny'd, *That what he had receiv'd by the Gift of God, could be taken from him by Men. That the whole Kingdom was his due, which he would not relinquish but with his Life; That* Jacob *would deal with more Justice and Uprightness, to quit his Diadem, than to hasten Ruin to himself and his Countrey.*

This haughty anſwer being deliver'd, *Jacob* decreed to decide the buſineſs not with Meſſages, but by the Sword. However, *Suſneus* Expert at delays, by the aſſiſtance of the Rocks and Mountains, avoyded the purſuit of *Jacob*, watching for thoſe Opportunities which ſoon after preſented themſelves. For *Zaſlac*, whether out of a vain-glory to behold the Event of the Battel, or out of any private Indignation, did not joyn his Forces with *Jacob*; but on the contrary, and as it were in deſpight of Military diſcipline, acted all things careleſly and remiſsly; believing his fame a Terror ſufficient to the Enemy. This was not conceal'd from *Suſneus*, who taking a ſhorter way came upon *Zaſlac* ſo of a ſuddain, that his Souldiers had not time to handle their Arms, much leſs to put themſelves into order: ſo that they were ſlain like ſheep, and utterly routed, and *Zaſlac*, having loſt his Army, was forc'd to entruſt his Safety to an ignominoous flight. Which Victory as it dejected *Jacob*'s Friends, ſo it rais'd the ſpirits of *Suſneus*'s Party. *Zaſlac* himſelf had loſt the Kings favour, and began to be ſuſpected. Thus the buſineſs began to work; for *Zaſlac* jealous of theſe diſparagements, notwithſtanding *Jacob* had heap'd ſo many favours upon him, for he had created him *Legate Royal*, began to Enter into a Correſpondence with *Suſneus*, uſing Treachery as the hire of thoſe that valu'd him moſt. *Suſneus* ſtanding in need of his Power, accepted his Propoſitions, and diſſembling his Hatred, made him a Confederate in the War, to leſſen the force of his Enemy. *Jacob* hearing of his Revolt, judging that it behov'd him to make haſt, before the reſt ſhould follow his Example, reſolv'd to put it to the hazard of a Battel; well knowing that he far exceeded *Suſneus* in number of men: nor did *Suſneus* refuſe him, tho inferior: however, he cunningly kept the rough and hilly Grounds, watching like a Lyon when to take his fatal jump.

The Enemy judging his delay to proceed from his fear, and confiding in their multitude, began to act more daringly, and to provoke *Suſneus* with upbraiding Language, until he had brought them into a narrow place where he could not be ſurrounded by his Enemies. Then Exhorting his Souldiers, *Now*, ſaid he, *the day is come, that You may make me King of* Ethiopia: *and for Your ſelves, You are to be either Maſters or Slaves, as You behave Your ſelves. I will not be onely the Companion of Your Victory,*

Victory, but your Dangers: Victory is in your own power, so that you do not turn your backs to your Enemies, before you see me begin to flye.

Having thus Encourag'd his Souldiers, he gave the Signal of Battel. Which seen, they gave so furious an Onsett, that the Enemy was every where beaten down, without resistance, amaz'd and astonish'd, to be so subdu'd by those whom they reck'ned for fugitives. The slaughter was great, with little loss on *Susneus*'s side. *Jacob* himself, together with *Abuna-Peter*, who had in vain thunder'd out his Anathema's against the Enemy, were both slain. Which *Susneus* understanding, sounded a retreat, that by his clemency to the Common Soldiery and his own Countrymen, he might win to himself the Reputation of Gentleness, necessary for the Establishment of a New Prince.

But such was the Terror that possessed the hearts of the *Jacobeans*, forc'd on by the croud of Fugitives, ignorant of the Country, tho there was no pursuit, that they threw themselves headlong in the night time from a Rock dismally steep and cragged. Among the rest, there was a certain Portuguese, by name *Emanuel-Gonsalvo*, who betimes perceiving his Horse as it were flying in the Air, quitting his Stirrups, left him, and taking hold by chance of the branch of a Tree, made a shift to recover a Seat in the bough, where he sate all night. Nor did he well understand his danger, till day appearing, he discovered, not without horror, at a prodigious distance underneath him, a vast heap of Men and Horses with their Limbs and Members broken all to flitters.

Susneus having obtain'd so great a Victory, exercis'd no so sort of Severity or Reveng against any Person; only *Maharbin* he commanded to be beheaded, as being a follower of the sect of *Islamism*, and the Person that had first wounded *Zadenghel*.

After that he departed for *Coga*, there to, settle the Affairs of his Kingdom, where *Zaslac* whom he could not endure to see, was still in his Eye, the grand promoter of all these troubles. He was the first that went over to *Susneus*'s Party, and therefore was look't upon by *Susneus* as one that would be constantly casting in his Dish the kindnesses he had done, and pride himself to be the setter up of kings. And indeed in one of his vain-glorious humors, of which

which deſerving Soldiers are generally too much guilty, he had unwarily given out, That it was foretold him, *That he ſhould pull down three Kings, which was fulfill'd in Two.* So that the New King ſeem'd only to be wanting for the third. It being therefore a Maxim, *That jealouſie and friendſhip cannot long remain in one and the ſame Breſt, and that the fruit of Treaſon being reap'd, there is no farther need of the Traitor,* the King commanded him to be apprehended and carried away into the ſteep Mountain of *Gueman*, in the Kingdom of *Gojam*. He would not put him to death, as not believing it became a noble Prince to take away a mans life for fear of a future crime. But he making his Eſcape, about a year after, invaded *Waleka*, where having gather'd together ſome Troops of Vagabonds and diſſolute Perſons, he ſupported himſelf by Robbery and Rapine; till at laſt, making his Incurſions into *Gojam*, he was there ſlain by the *Pagans*. His head being brought to the King, was fix'd upon a Lance, and ſet up before the Royal Pavillion, to be view'd by all the World; no man pitying his misfortune, in regard that all people knew his advancement had coſt the loſs of ſo many innocent lives.

Not ſo inglorious was the end of *Ras-Athanaſius*, and yet ſufficiently miſerable. For he every day loſing more and more of the Kings favour, was at length the contempt of all men; Inſomuch that his wife, the daughter of *Malec-Saghed*, unaccuſtom'd to brook indignities, forſook his bed. Thus once the next to Supream authority, now the next to moſt dejected miſery, not able to o'recome the anguiſh of his mind, he fell into a Fever, of which he dy'd.

But *Suſneus*, to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Dominion, by all ways courted the friendſhip of the *Portugueſes*, as being skilful in the art of Gunnery and Fire-arms, the chiefeſt terror of thoſe Nations: hoping, & that not without reaſon, by their aſſiſtance, to defend himſelf as well againſt his own Subjects, too much addicted to Tumults and Seditions, as the Kindred and Friends of the ſlain Kings. And not only ſo, but to render himſelf formidable to the *Gallans*. To that purpoſe he kindly receiv'd the *Fathers of the Society* then living in *Dembea*. He ſent for *Peter-Pays*, and moſt courteouſly gave ear to him; and treated him as his familiar Friend.

And

And as he was favourable and bountiful to them; so did he dayly afford many testimonies of his kindness to the rest of the *Portugueses*, and the more to oblige them he set up the Latin Religion; nothing terrify'd by the example of *Za-denghel*. And indeed the Fathers had such a power over him, that at length he surrender'd himself to the Pope, and together with his Son, sware obedience to him as Universal Bishop, and Vicar of Christ, abrogating the Religion of *Alexandria*. Which was afterwards the occasion of horrid uproars, bloody wars, and the slaughter of many great Personages.

But the possession of a Kingdom won by the Sword, seldom enjoys a perfect tranquility, especially when the death of the Predecessor comes be in question. For presently, that is to say, the very next year, up starts a counterfeit *Jacob*, who alarum'd all *Habessinia* with the fear of a new War. Some there were, that acknowledg'd they both knew and saw the dead body of King *Jacob*, after the blood was wip'd away, but no man durst assert himself to be the Person that kill'd him. The Counterfeit therefore addresses himself to the Monks of the famous Monastery of *Bizan*, in the prefecture of *Bahrnagassus*; where he remain'd, and to hide the fraud, as if his face had bin disfigur'd with his wounds, went always vail'd. Nor was it long before his Story was believ'd. Not so much out of respect to his own Person, as out of malice to *Susneus*, whom they hated as a Person that was unknown to them, and by his exilement inur'd to the Savage Customs of the *Gallans*. Neither were they pleas'd with *Raas-Seelech*, his brother by the Mother's side, whom he had made Vice-roy of *Tigra*, whom they look'd upon also as a forraigner. So that he not being able himself to quell the Disturbances, the King was forc'd to advance himself. But the Rebels having intelligence of his coming, fled several ways, to avoyd fighting. Their Captain, with only four of his Associates, and some few Goats, which he carry'd with him for their milks sake, secur'd themselves by a painful Pilgrimage through the most wild and uncouth concealments of Nature, that the Rocks could afford him, where it was impossible to trace him. So that the King dispairing, after a tedious search, to find him out, return'd to *Dembea*, and having solemniz'd his Inauguration at *Axuma*, after the ancient

ent Custom of the Country, he made *Ansalax* Governor of *Tigra*, in the room of his Brother, who afterwards by the help of two Noblemen that counterfeited themselves their friends, having apprehended the Rebels, put them to death.

But what was more strange, our *Europe* it self could not, some time after, discern an *Æthiopian* Counterfeit of the same name.

For in the Year 1631. a certain Impudent Counterfeit, by the names of (*i*) *Tzagax*, assuming to himself to be the Son of *Jacob*, came into *France*, and producing several Recommendatory Letters, and Certificates from the Credulous Monks of *Palestine*, was taken for a Great Prince, and expell'd Heir to the Kingdom of *Ethiopia*, and Entertain'd with a large Pension from the King: after the Example of some of the Princes of *Italy*, which is, to consider what may be Correspondent with their Munificence toward an Exile of so great Dignity, rather then to enquire who he really is. Which was to be admir'd: For that both at *Rome* and in *Portugal* there were at that time extant several annual Relations, by which it was apparent that *Jacob* was slain in Battel, Young, and never marry'd, above Twenty years before. But that which added to the Credit of the Impostor, was his graceful Presence, with a Countenance wherein Seriousness and Frankness were wonderfully intermix'd, that while he kept company with other Princes, (as *Bochart* himself told me) he seem'd to excel them all both for beauty of form, and sweetness of disposition; and particularly that his Majestick Aspect strook all his beholders with admiration. Whether that Beauty were really in his Person, or whether the Novelty of the thing, or the Opinion that he was of the Race of *Salomon*, byas'd their Judgments. Tho otherwise, no reason could be given why he acted the part of the Son of an *Ethiopian* King, unless it were to contend with (*k*) *Hercules* or (*l*) *Messalina* for the prize of most enormous Lust: And indeed it may be thought,

(*i*) For so the *Ethiopic* word *Tzaga*, *Christos* is pronounced. There is a Relation of this Person extant, Entitl'd, The Strange Accidents of the Travels of His Highness Prince *Zaga-Christ* of *Ethiopia*, &c. very absurd, and full of Fables.

(*k*) Relating to the Daughters of *Thespius*.

(*l*) See *Suetonius in Claud. Juvenal. Sat.* 6. *Tacit. Annal. l. XI. Plin. X.* 23.

that

that fearing his Impoſture ſhould be diſcover'd, he rather choſe to bring himſelf to his end by the pleaſing debauſhes of Luxury, than to fall under the Hangman.

Being dead, he was branded with this Epitaph,

*Cy giſt le Roy d'*Ethiopie,
L'Original, ou la Copie.

Here lyes the King of *Ethi opie*,
Th'Original, or elſe the Copie.

Gregory being queſtion'd concerning him, made anſwer, *That the Report of him reach'd* Egypt, *and the Countries next adjoyning; and he had heard from the Governeſs of* Ruma, *being a Woman of noble deſcent, that* Tzagax *came to her, and told her he was the Son of* Arzo, *who was the Brother of* Zadenghel, *the Son of* Leſana, *and Grandchild to* Menas. The ſame thing he affirm'd to his Countrymen in *Egypt*, and to thoſe that liv'd at *Jeruſalem*. For to them he did not dare to counterfeit himſelf the Son of *Jacob*, in regard they well knew that *Jacob* was ſlain in the Eighteenth year of his Age, or thereabout, without any legitimate off-ſpring. But for *Arzo*, he liv'd an obſcure life, and whether he had any Children or no, there was no body knew. Let us now therefore return to *Suſneus*.

Suſneus, deſcended from the Royal Line, bigg, tall, and ſtrong Limb'd; and in ſuch a Body a large Soul. His Countenance affable and pleaſing, with a high Noſe and thin Lips; nothing different from the *Europeans*, but only in colour. He was Prudent, Courteous and Liberal, and well read in the *Ethiopic* Books; and which is moſt neceſſary to him that will ruffle for a Crown, he was Warlike, Patient of Labour, and had among the *Gallans* learnt to be Content with any ſort of Dyet. However he was unhappy during his Reign, by reaſon of his continual Wars, and the frequent Rebellions of his Subjects, whom he ſent to compel by force toſubmit to what he thought convenient to enjoyn them. He ſwore obedience to the Pope; before he had weigh'd what benefit he might get by it. And therefore toward his latter End, he was forc'd to indulge that Liberty, for the maintaining of which, many Thouſands had already loſt their Lives. He dy'd in *September*, in the Year 1632. leaving ſeveral Sons and Daughters behind him.

Baſilides, by his Inauguration name *Seltan Saghed*, after the Death of *Marc* his Eldeſt Brother, ſucceeded the Father, Who to quiet the Minds of his Subjects, Exterminated the *Jeſuits*, together with their Patriarch, out of all his Dominions; ſo that he would not permit the *Portugals* a Prieſt to ſay Maſs, which the ſeverity of *Menas* allow'd them. All the reſt of his Brothers, if the Fidelity of *Tellezius* do not here give way to his Paſſion, he put to death, upon bare allegation of Crimes committed. Neither do we know any thing more of certainty concerning him, he refuſing any farther Commerce with the *Europeans*, for fear of the Forces, for which he heard the Fathers were ſolliciting both at *Rome* and in *Portugal*, to revenge the Indignities he had put upon them.

After this I ſaw certain Letters, which the King of *Abyſinia Af-Saghed*, the Son of *Alam Saghed*, ſent to the Governour of *Batavia*, written in Arabic; of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more in another place, for I am not certain whether or no *Baſilides* did not make uſe of a double Sirname, nor whether he were the Father of that ſame *Af-Saghed*. I have here inſerted a Genealogic Table of the Laſt Kings of *Habeſsinia*, which I had from *Gregory*, but now more Corrected out of *Tellezius*.

Chap.

A GENEALOGIC TABLE *of the Kings of* Habeſſinia, *from* BAEDA-MARJAM *Son of* Zara-Jacob, *Grandchild of* Amda-Jeſu, *who liv'd about the year of Chriſt* 1460. *to the Reign of* Baſilides, 1632, &c.

BAEDA-Marjam,
Son of *Zara-Jacob*, otherwiſe *Amda Jeſu*, Born about the year 1465. whoſe Second Wife was *Helena*.

1. *ALEXANDER* came to the Crown about the year 1475, and dy'd without Children, 1490.

2. *AMDA-SION* dy'd in the year 1491. after he had Reign'd Six Months.

3. *Naod* fetch'd from the Rock of *Ambara* to the Crown, dy'd in the year 1504. leaving his Widow *Mogheſa* behind.

1. *N.N.* The Eldeſt born in the Rock *Ambara*, before his Father came to the Crown, therefore forc'd to yield to the Second Brother.

2. *David*, Sirnam'd *Etana-Denghel*, *Lebna-Denghel*, and *Wanag-Denghel*, Born about the year 1492. made King 1504. dy'd 1540. leaving his Widow *Kabelo-Wanghel* behind.

3. *Romana Warck* wife 1. to *N. N.* 2. to *Abucher*.

4. *N. N.* who Eſcap'd from the Rock of *Ambara*.

1. Victor in the Field, Slain before his Father's Death.

2. *Claudius*, Sirnam'd *Atnaf-Saghed*, Born toward the end of 1522, made King 1540. Slain *March* 1559. in a Battel againſt the *Adelans*.

3. *Jacob*, dy'd before his Brother *Claudius*.

4. *Menas*, Sirnam'd *Adamæs Saghed* made King 1559. Slain in Battel, *April* 20. 1562.

5. *N.* 6. *N.* 7. *N.* three Daughters of whom *Alvarez*, c. 61.

Taſcar's Natural Son, made King by the Rebels in Oppoſition to his Uncle, taken in Fight, *July* 1561. and thrown Head-long from a Rock.

2. *Baſilides*, Slain in a Battel againſt the *Gallans*. His Wife was *Hamel-Mala*, the Viceroy of *Ambara*'s Widow, who had Three Sons, *Raſſelach*, *Aſach*, and *Almanach*.

3. *Zertza-Denghel*, otherwiſe *Malech-Saghed*, made King 1562, and dy'd 1579. His Wife was *Marjam-Sena*.

AQUIETER, *ABALE Lecanaxos*.

Suſneus, Sirnam'd *Malech Saghed* then *Seltan Saghed*, Born 1571. made King, *Jacob* being ſlain *March* 10. 1607. dy'd *Sept.* 1632. He had many Wives, but diſmiſſed all except the Firſt.

N. N. The Wife of *Ras-Athanaſius*.

Jacob a Natural Son, Born 1589. Made King at 7 years of Age, call'd the Infant King, depos'd 1603, Recall'd 1604. Slain *March* 10. 1607.

Za-Marjam, another Natural Son.

Za-Denghel alias *Atznaf-Saghed*, Born 1577, Slain in Battel by his own Son, *Octob.* 13. 1604.

Arzo whoſe Son *Tzago Chriſtos* called himſelf

Lecanaxos.
Marcus---These two Deceas'd before their Father.
Malacotawit, Wife of *Elias*, Viceroy of *Tigra*.
Baſilides, ſirnam'd *Seltan-Saghed*, then *Alam-Saghed*, Born 1607. made King 1632.
Claudius, *Baſilides* Brother by the Father's ſide.
Canafraxos.
Jacobus.
Juſtus.
Za-Denghel.
Za-Marjam.
Lebna-Denghel, and others. For as *Tellez* writes, he left 25 Sons, and many Daughters behind him, as *Wanghelawit*, the Wife of *Tecla*, *George* Viceroy of *Tigra*, *N.* Wife of *Za-Marjam* Viceroy of *Bagemdra*, *N.* Wife of *Anda Michael Babnagaſh*.

1. *Conſtantine* dy'd before his Father. 2. *Juſtus*. 3. *David*. 4. *John*. 5. *Becuerta-Chriſtos*, Wife to the Viceroy of *Tigra*, with others whoſe Names are not known.

Place this Table in the Second Book, between Folio 192, 193.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Royal Succession, and the Imprisonment of the Kings Children in the Rock Geshen, *now quite out of use.*

Certain Succession the Safety of Kingdoms. Two Bonds of Government. How far Prudence, how far Nobility and Power prevail. Election not alwayes to be preferr'd before Succession: more agreeable to Liberty. The Males only succeed in Abassia. *Their Claim dubious: hence Wars. The Inconveniencies of Hereditary Kingdoms. The ill Events of uncertain Succession. The Imprisonment of the Kings Children.* Tellez.us's *Relation of it. The Custom for* 300 *Years, abrogated by* Naod. Alvarez's *Relation: it disagrees with* Tellezius: *reconcil'd: No president for half a Century. The pleasantness of those Rocks fabulous. The severe usage of those Princes there. The severity of the Governour displeasing to the Prince: pleas'd him when King.*

FRom what has bin said, it appears that the Succession of the Kings of *Habessinia* is uncertain; and that there is no great difference made between the Legitimate and the Illegitimate. However, the most assured Safety of Kingdoms consists in a Constant and Establish'd Settlement of Succession But if in Hereditary Kingdoms, it may be lawful either for the King to choose one of his Sons; or if it may be lawful for the Nobility, not so much to regard the order of birth, as the disposition and conditions of him that is to govern, or to respect the favour of the People, War and Sedition must of necessity follow.

They that are set aside will never be quiet; nor shall they want Factious Abettors and Associates. The Grand Pretence, more Especially in Elective Kingdoms, is this, *That Conditions cannot be distinguish'd by Nativities; but the best may be taken by Election and Judgment.* A specious pretence in words, but vain in Reality; while the Imbecility of human Nature prevails, which is guided by the affections, and obeys rather Favour and Hatred, than Virtue; which usually happens in great Assemblies. But there are two Pillars which sustain the Safety of great Monarchies, Reverence and Authority, which they that Govern never can reconcile to themselves either by Wisdom or Probity alone. For there are many who

will esteem themselves if not their Superiors, yet their Equals: and men very unwillingly obey their Equals, much less their Inferiours: so that it is altogether vain and pedantic, what *Plato* writes concerning the Felicity of Kingdoms, *That they should be Govern'd by Philosophers*, while other Aids are wanting. A Philosopher, how wise soever, would hardly find a Subject that would obey him three days together for his Philosophies sake. There ought to be something External and Visible, which as well the vulgar and ordinary sort, as the prudent, Equally acknowledg, which is not subjected to the fluctuating and inconstant determination of Men. For this reason in the Election of Kings and Princes, *Nobility* and Power are preferr'd before Wisdom and Sanctity of disposition. Yet the one requires the assistance of the other. The one is the cause that the Subject willingly and freely obeys; the other compels the refractory to submit. And therefore because Election does not bring much more advantage to a Kingdom, than the chance of birth, but is rather liable to Tumults and Seditions, many People have (*m*) abandon'd it of their own accord. However, it approaches neerest to Liberty, because the Electors may prescribe Laws and Conditions of Government to the Person that is to be Elected; tho that same warines proves many times ineffectual: Because the Prince, upon refusal, either positively cannot, or else will be very unwilling to be brought to an accompt. So impossible it is, that there should be a compleat happines in this World. And therefore it is the part of a good and prudent Statesman to prefer that form of Government which he finds (*n*) Established.

But I return to the *Habessines*, among whom there is this most prudent Constitution, That only the Male Issue shall govern, or the Male kindred neerest in blood; But because the Determination of the Fathers and Mothers, and the chief Nobility happens frequently to be intermix'd; and that the natural Issue is likewise, if male, allow'd the same Priviledge for want of Legitimate Off-spring: hence it comes to pass,

(*m*) The *Swedes* in the last Century. The *Danes* in our memory; The *Chineses* of old. *Joh. Newhoft.* Descript. *Chin.* c. 18.

(*n*) That the Wise call Τὴν παρεσ πολιτείαν διαφυλάττειν, to preserve the present state of the Republic. *Isoc.* against *Collimalh.*

that

that their Succeſſions are moſt unhappy and turbulent; the chief cauſe of all their Calamities.

We have already declar'd, how *Helena*, with the conſent of *Marc* the *Metropolitan*, preferr'd *David* the ſecond Son before *Naod* the Elder Brother, as having nothing elſe to advance him but a meer brutiſh ſtrength. The Civil Wars between *Menas* and *Tazcar* his Brothers Eldeſt Son; between the Illegitimate Son of *Malec-Saghed*, and *Zadenghel* his Legitimate Kinsman; and laſtly, between *Jacob* and *Suſneus*, and all about the doubtful right of Succeſſion, are ſufficient Arguments to prove what we aſſert. *Tellezius* indeed declares, That according to the Lawes of *Ethiopia*, the natural Sons do not ſucceed. But in another place, he ſo diſcourſes concerning their Law, alledging the Example of *John* the Firſt, King of *Portugal*, that the Reader may perceive, that he varies in this, from his other Relation. But the chiefeſt Inconvenience which uſes to ariſe in hereditary Kingdoms, where the Succeſſion is ty'd to a certain Family, proceeds either from the ſence of Rivalſhip and a jealouſie which they that rule have of them that are nearly related in blood; or from their Ambition, which always animates the Factious. Diſmal are the Examples among the *Barbarians*, where there are no Laws or Rules for Succeſſion, but all things are at the Will of them that bear ſway, or elſe of Fortune her ſelf. What ruin'd the Family of the *Cæſars*? What the *Roman* Empire? but onely that the Creation of the Emperors was inconſtant and unfix'd, and at the Will of the Souldiery. Certainly it was a great Overſight in *Auguſtus Cæſar*, after he had vanquiſh'd all his Rivals, and had all the Power in his own hands, that he ordain'd no certain Settlement of Succeſſion. The Emperours of the *Turks*, to prevent the Crimes of their Brothers, more impiouſly put them to death, and puniſh that Diſloyalty which perhaps was never intended. The Ancient Kings of *Abeſsinia*, to rid themſelves of theſe Fears, were wont to ſhut up their Brothers under ſafe Cuſtody, where they might abide unknown to turbulent Spirits; and ſo be uncapable of attempting any thing againſt the raigning Prince; and yet be ready to ſupply the want of Succeſſors. The Rocks of *Geſhen* and *Amhaſel* were ſet apart to this end. The whole Story from the Relations of *Antonie d' Almeyda* runs thus. The Emperour *Icon-Imlac* had five Sons (others ſay nine) which he lov'd all alike. Out of which affection he moſt imprudently

advis'd

advis'd them to raign all with Equal Power; or which was worse, to govern by turns. The Youngest impatient of the delay of so many Years, design'd with himself not to part with the Scepter, when once he had got it into his hands, but to send away his Brothers to some distant Rock, and so continue the Kingdom to his own Posterity. But being betrayd by one of his peculiar Friends, who rather chose to accept of a reward from the raigning Prince, than to expect a guerdon from him that was to raign, he was taken in the same snare which he had laid for his Brothers, and sent to the Rock *Geshen*. But lest the King might seem to have consulted more for his own than the Security of the Kingdom, he also shut up all his own Sons, which he then had, in the same place. After which this Custom con inu'd as a Fundamental Law in *Ethiopia*, for above Two hundred and thirty Years, by which means the raigning Kings were secur'd from danger of Civil Wars among Brethren; till in the Year 1590, at what time King *Naod* was sent for from the Rock to ascend the Throne. He had a Son, about Nine years of Age, whom he dearly lov'd; which Child, one of his chief Courtiers steadfastly beholding, *Certainly*, said he to the King, *this Child grows apace*. The Boy was of an acute Witt, and understood what the Courtier drove at, and therefore fixing his weeping Eyes upon his Fathers Face, *Oh Father*, said he, *Have I grown thus fast, to be hurry'd from your sight to the Rock* Geshen? Which word strook his Father so deeply to the heart, that having assembl'd the Nobility of his Court and Kingdom, he told them, *That such a wicked and inhuman Custom was to be renounc'd*. Which was immediatly done, neither he nor his Council considering that private affections are not to be preferr'd before the Safety of a Nation. And thus it came to pass, through the Kings unseasonable tenderness, that this same Custome receiv'd and continu'd in *Habessinia*, so much to the Health of the Government, was abrogated to the unspeakable detriment of the Kingdom: And from that time never any Prince was Exil'd to those Rocks.

Alvarez wri es, *That* David *being advanc'd to the Throne, his Younger Brother, with the rest of the Sons of* Naod, *were sent away to the Rock*; and afterwards, *That one of the Younger Sons Escap'd, but was taken and sent back*; *and that he saw him there*. From whence it may be objected against *Tellezius*, That this Custome continu'd after *Naod*'s time. But we have some rea-

son

ſon to believe, That he foreſaw this Objection, becauſe he binds it with an Aſſeveration, ſaying, *The thing is certainly true, and is eaſie to be confirm'd as well by the Fathers of the Society, as by the Example of* Suſneus, *who tho he had ſeveral Sons, yet never went about to ſend any of them to the Rock.* But then again when he ſayes *Alvarez* is to be believ'd in all things that he ſaw, there is ſome need of Reconciliation: That is to ſay, That the Sons of *Naod*, the Brothers of *David*, were then carry'd to the Rock, and that one of them after an Eſcape was taken and ſent back. So that the new Conſtitution might not help them, tho it were a kindneſs to the Sons of the ſucceeding Kings. The Reports concerning the Pleaſantneſs of thoſe Rocks, and the ſplendid attendance upon thoſe Royal Exiles, are all ridiculous Falſities. The Rocks we have deſcrib'd already. And as for the ſplendidneſs of Attendance, when the Cuſtome was in force, moſt certain it is, that thoſe Princes were kept cloſe Priſoners, and they that either attempted to Eſcape, or were aſſiſting to their Eſcape, lay under great Penalties. The Princes themſelves were harſhly us'd; Neither was any perſon permitted to come at them, ſo that their Education could never fit them for a Crown, but was rather to put them out of Hopes of having any thing to do with the Affairs of this World.

It is reported of one of the Keepers, that one morning obſerving one of his Royal Priſoners putting on a Garment ſomewhat neater than ordinary, he not only chidd him, and tore the Veſtment, but gave notice of it to his Father: all which the poor Prince was forc'd to take patiently. Afterwards the ſame Prince coming to be King himſelf, did not onely forbear to revenge the Injury, but hearing that his Keeper was gone aſide, as dreading ſome heavy puniſhment, caus'd him to be ſought out, and being brought before him half dead for fear, both prais'd and rewarded him; Exhorting him to continue in his Office as Faithful to Him, as he had bin to the King deceas'd. And thus we generally impoſe upon others, what we are very unwilling to endure our ſelves.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of the Priviledge and Power of the King in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Affairs.

The Kings Power abſolute: Experienc'd by the Jeſuits. Alphonſus *the Patriarch offends the King. He claims the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. He abrogates the Latin Religion; calls Synods: He forbears the right of Nomination: not bound by the Secular Laws. He has no Eſtates. The benefit of them: He enjoyes all Royal Priviledges, but makes not uſe of all: Hunting Lawful for all. Private perſons have nothing proper. The King takes and gives as he pleaſes: Certain Families excepted.*

THe Power of the *Abeſsinian* Kings is abſolute, as well in Eccleſiaſtical as Civil Affairs. Of which the Fathers of the Society have had ſufficient experience; in whoſe favour, and to whoſe diſadvantage he has exercis'd his ſupream Eccleſiaſtical Authority, without ever conſulting the Patriarch of *Alexandria*: Firſt when he put forth ſeveral Edicts, for receiving the *Roman* Religion, and abrogating the *Alexandrian* Ceremonies: which was done with the conſent of the Fathers. Afterwards the ſtate of Affairs changing, when he diſpenc'd by public Edict with certain Ceremonies that were indifferent, *Alfonſus* the Patriarch reprov'd him. *It is not lawful,* ſaid he, *for a King to put forth any ſuch Edict, as being purely Eccleſiaſtical, and belonging to the Prieſtly Office: and You ought to remember what the High Prieſt ſaid to King* Uzziah. *It belongs not to thee, O King* Uzziah, *to offer incenſe to the Lord, but to the Prieſts, the Sons of* Aaron, *who are conſecrated to that Miniſtry, get thee forth out of the Sanctuary, for it will not be imputed to thee as an honour by the Lord God*; to which the Patriarch added the Puniſhment that follow'd. The King for that time gave way to the Patriarch, and publiſh'd the Edict in another manner and form. But not brooking the Compariſon made between him and *Uzziah*, among other things he gave the Patriarch this anſwer. *Wherefore didſt thou bid us be mindful of* Uzziah, *and wherefore didſt thou compare us with him? He was therefore puniſh'd by God, for uſurping the Office of the Prieſt which did not become him; and becauſe he offer'd Incenſe and Sacrifice to God, which We never attempted to do: onely We commanded an Edict*

to

to be publiſh'd about thoſe Indifferent things which were agreed on between Us both.

Nothing more incens'd the King, but that he ſaw his Prerogative call'd in queſtion, which for ſo many Ages had bin enjoy'd by his Anceſtors, and which was never deny'd by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, even before the Schiſme. Nor was he ignorant what the ancient Emperours after *Conſtantine* had done in the ſame Caſes. Nor was he ſo dull of apprehenſion, as not to be able to diſtinguiſh between Epiſcopal rules, and Kingly Juriſdiction, which he thought belong'd to himſelf. Which Prerogative, tho he had a great Reverence for the Patriarch, he would not part with, but rather choſe to publiſh another Edict, which tended manifeſtly to the Diminution of the Patriarchal Power. For the Patriarch had order'd a certain Monk to give ſome part of his Eccleſiaſtical Revenues to a certain Pariſh. The Monk would not obey; but complain'd to his Superiour, one *Iceg*, who obtain'd a Decree from the King, wherein the Patriarch was enjoyn'd to keep to the Rules of the Metropolitans of Ancient *Ethiopia*, and that *Iceg* ſhould enjoy his due Priviledges.

His Prerogative in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs was moſt apparently made manifeſt, by the making of that ſevere Decree for the abrogating the Latin Worſhip, and reſtoring that of *Alexandria*. Moreover, the King ſummons the Synods of the Clergy, as often as need requires; he ſends for the Metropolitan out of *Egypt*; exerciſing plenary Juriſdiction over him and all the reſt of his Clergy: and puniſhing them according to the nature of their Offences, which the Examples recited by *Alvarez*, ſufficiently demonſtrate. In one thing however he differs from our *European* Kings, that he never nominates to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. For the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, ſends a Metropolitan, at the requeſt of the King indeed; but he knows not who or what he is. He alſo admitted the Patriarch, whom the Pope ſent, tho not he but the King of *Portugal* nam'd him.

Neither are there in *Ethiopia* any other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities; and therefore the Prerogative of nominating Biſhops and Archbiſhops, ſignifies little or nothing. In Seculars he acknowledges no poſitive Laws. And well it were that he did not think himſelf alſo altogether free from the Funda-

mental Laws of his Realm, upon which the Safety of the Kingdom depends.

For *Naod* diſpenc'd with the wholeſome Conſtitutions of his Anceſtors, by vertue of which the Kings Children were ſent to the Rock of *Amhara*. And *Malec-Saghed* would have preferr'd his natural Son *Jacob* before his Brothers Legitimate Son *Zadenghel*; both which prov'd very diſadvantagious preſidents to the whole Nation.

But ſuch things frequently come to paſs, where the Kingdome is without Eſtates. For they are the moſt Truſty Guardians of the Law, and the true Bulwarks of the Peoples Liberty againſt the Encroachments of the Ambitious. For they have a more vigilant eye and tender care over the Commonweal, of which they are themſelves Members, than the Friends of Princes, whoſe Fortunes hardly deſcend to their Heirs; ſo that a man may admire at their Counſels, who taking away the Priviledges of *Eſtates*, endeavour to aſſume the whole Power into their own hands, as deeming every ſlight bond of the Law, to themſelves heavy and intollerable. So that they are forc'd to diſtribute thoſe Favours and Kindneſſes which are due to their fellow Citizens, among the Souldiery, whoſe fidelity is brittle and inconſtant: not caring who are poor, ſo they be rich: and many times the Souldiers turn thoſe Arms which were put into their hands for the defence of their Prince, againſt him; being put upon the ferment either by the Ambition or the Wealth of ſome particular perſon. Which in *Habeſsinia*, as in all other abſolute Goverments, frequently happens to the deſtruction of thoſe that bear the ſway.

He has alſo the ſole diſpoſal of Peace or Warr, and indeed all the Prerogatives that a King can claim (both the greater and the leſſer *Regalia*) are ſolely at his devotion; tho he makes no uſe of many of them, merely becauſe he is ignorant of them; as the Prerogative in reference to Metals, Coyning of Money, and the like. As for the liberty of Hunting, he grants it to all; in regard there are ſuch multitudes of Wild Beaſts that breed up and down in the over-grown Woods and high Mountains, that it is not onely troubleſome but dangerous to find out their haunts: by which means that which

which in other Countries is a Pleasure, to the *Abessines* becomes a Toyl and Detriment.

One thing is much to be admir'd, and rare ev'n among the *Turks*, which is, that no private person, whether Peasant or Lord, except some few can call any thing his own. All the Lands and Farms in the Country belong to the King, and are held by the Subjects onely at the Kings pleasure, so that no man takes it amiss, if the King takes away their Lands and bestowes them upon another as he pleases himself; and that not onely after two or three years, but also the same year they were given: So that it often happens that one man ploughs, and another man sowes. Whence it comes to pass, that they are more submissive to their Kings, then a Servant to his Master, or a Vassal to his Lord: they serve him in Peace and War; and bring him Presents according to their Ability, in hopes of obtaining new Farms, or for fear of losing those they have. For being commanded out of possession, they never grumble, but presently obey without the least distast against the King, or envy to the person that succeeds in their Room. Custome and long use prevailing, while they see the same happening to others. However there are some ancient and Illustrious Families, especially in *Tigra*, who enjoy by right of Inheritance not only Lands and Possessions purchas'd by their Ancestors, but some certain Prefectures also, retaining their ancient Title; as *Bahr-Nagash*, *Shum Serawè Sirè*, *Temben*, and others; as also *Cantiba* in *Dembea*; over whom the King claims no other Authority, than to confer the public Employments every two year, or yearly, or as he pleases, upon others; yet so as that they be of the same Family.

Chap. X.

Of the Power and Revenues of the Habeſſine *Kings.*

The Power of the Habeſſine *Kings formerly great; Formidable to their Neighbours; it fail'd after the* Saracens *came in Play. Yet ſtrong at home till the* Adelan *War, and Incurſions of the* Gallans. *Eaſie to be reſtor'd. The wayes and means. Our Princes unkind to Forraign Chriſtians. Demonſtrated by Examples. They took no care of their Sea Ports. The Kings Revenues the Natural Commodities of the Country; what they are. His Tribute, Farms; Herds; the Prices of things low. The King has enough to ſupply him both in Peace and War.*

So great and ſo abſolute a Power, and ſo uncontroulable a Dominion over their Subjects, one would think ſhould render the Kings of *Ethiopia* vaſtly Potent: and ſo no doubt it would, if other things were correſpondent. Certainly of old it was vaſtly great, when they kept their Courts at (o) *Axuma*; for there was no conſiderable Empire near then to withſtand their Fortune: and for that cauſe the adjoyning petty-Princes were all at the devotion of the *Habeſsinian* Kings. But as to what ſeveral have written, through miſtake or miſapplication of the name, (p) of their Expeditions into the *North* parts of *Aſia*, they are all meer fables and figments. Yet this cannot be deny'd, but that formerly they were very terrible to the neighbouring Nations: for they made ſeveral Expeditions into (q) *Arabia*.

We have already mention'd the Famous and Succeſsful War with *Caleb* made againſt the *Homerites*. With no leſs Renown, King *Cyriacus* hearing of the Chriſtian Perſecution in *Egypt*, led a very numerous Army againſt the (r) *Muſlims*. Wherefore *Merwan*, Captain of the *Saracens*, upon promiſe

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(o) *Nonnoſus* in *Bibliothec. Phot.* n. 3. calls the *Ethiopians*, the *Homerites* and *Saracens* τα ἰσχυρότερα τῶν τότε ἐθνῶν, the ſtouteſt of the Nations at that time.

(p) *Scal.* in his notes *ad Comp. Eccl. Ethiop*, but I know not by what Authority.

(q) The *Arabians* wont to uſe this Computation. From the Invaſions of the *Abeſſines*. For ſo *Altcodajus*. They computed their years from the *Arabians* invading *Abeſſina*.

(r) So the *Mahometans* call themſelves.

of

of mitigating his severity, besought the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to perswade the King to desist from his design; which he did, and stopp'd the Progress of the King, till he (*s*) heard that the Christians were better us'd. Which tho it be reported of the King of *Nubia*, yet several Authors attribute the same to the King of the *Abissines*; in regard that by the *Nubian* Geographer, *Nubia* (*t*) extended to the Fountains of *Nile*. *Gregory* also affirm'd the same, and that the History was to be seen in his Country. But when the *Saracens* grew stronger, and had invaded the Neighbouring Kingdoms, the *Abissines*, relinquishing *Axuma*, and turning the force of their Arms against the more upland parts of *Africa*, enlarg'd their Empire by the Overthrow of several weak and effeminate Nations, no more regarding forraign Countries, or the subduing of far distant Regions: which was the reason that after that, they perform'd nothing that was memorable abroad. However they were Potent at home, and had under them several petty-Princes that were their Tributaries. And in this Greatness they flourish'd, in the time of *Helena* and *David*, till it was not only shaken by that Dreadful Warr with the *Adelans*; but so overturn'd, that it never could recover it self afterwards. For about that time the *Gallans* also breaking out, and never after that subdu'd, layd wast and harrass'd the most Opulent and most Noble Provinces of the Empire: and still to this day every year gain upon the rest with their continual Incursions. However, that Power which yet remains is so considerable, that if they would but make use of the Arts and Arms of the *Europeans*, they might not onely subdue those *Barbarians*, but also recover their Lost Dominions. For a Kingdom well order'd within, under such a Monarch, where the People are under so much subjection; so large a liberty to do well or ill; if Concord and Unity attended these Opportunities, together with a constant method of Counsels, it is impossible, but that they must soon prevail over a wandring Nation, divided among themselves into so many Tribes and Factions. All their truculent and savage fury would be in vain, if the streights of the Mountains were but well forti-

(*s*) *Elmacinus* Hist. of the *Saracens* l. c. 17.

(*t*) *Bochapts* Sacred Geography l. 2. c. 23. However most certainly *Cyriacus* had another name.

fy'd

fy'd and guarded with Field-Pieces. They ſhould alſo ſend forth ſeveral Colonies, and give them a taſt of the Bleſſings of Peace, by which the wildeſt of Nations oft-times grow tame. But which is more than all, and which the *Habeſsines* moſt earneſtly deſire, Towns ſhould be built, and repleniſh'd with people, and an increaſe of Wealth be permitted by the Encouragement of Arts and Arms. Laſtly, if the Kng would remit ſomething of his Prerogative which he has over the Eſtates of the Subject, and reſerving thoſe Lands which are already till'd, to himſelf, would diſtribute to his Souldiers and the reſt of his People ſuch Lands as ſhould be won from the Enemy, every one his proportion, and grant them an irrevocable Inheritance of ſuch Lands; ſettling alſo Dukedoms and Earldoms in fee-ſimple out of the Conquer'd Countries, upon his Nobility, and beſt deſerving Captains, no doubt but in a ſhort time, it would prove the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom in *Aſia*, greatly to the propagation of the Chriſtian Religion.

And it ſeems but reaſon, that in the ſettling and ordering his Kingdom, the *Habeſsinian* Prince ſhould be advis'd and aſſiſted by the *European* Princes, not onely out of Chriſtian Charity and hopes of propagating Chriſtianity over *Africa*, but alſo to leſſen the Power of the *Turk*, which would follow, were the Dominion of the Red Sea but wreſted out of his hands, and the Commerce of *Egypt* ſpoyl'd. Ah! what pity it is, that we ſhould be ſo ill affected towards other Chriſtian Nations, that unleſs they are of the ſame Opinion with us in all points of Divinity; or unleſs they promiſe us large Rewards, or an ample ſhare of their Profits, we can patiently look on, and ſee them periſh, while the moſt inveterate Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith are enrich'd with the ſpoyls of their Wealth; not conſidering that in the end the miſchief will redound to our ſelves: and that we ſhall one day, unleſs God in mercy prevent it, dearly pay for our Diſſenſions.

Thus we forbore to aſſiſt the *Grecian* Emperours, and ſeveral of the Eaſtern Princes, till they became at laſt a prey to the *Ottomans*. Thus, while none of Us lay'd it to heart, *Egypt* was reduc'd under the Power of the *Turk*; a vaſt addition to their Empire: as if it were a Crime to breed up Doggs to hunt the Wolves. Now the reaſon why the *Abiſsines* do not court with greater ardour the Alliances of the *Europeans*, is plain:

plain: for it is to be attributed either to their ignorance, or their difference in Opinion from the *Latines*. Moreover, they fail very much in this, that they permit the *Turk* to be Masters of the Ports and Ilands of the Red Sea, whereby it is absolutely at their pleasure what Persons or Commodities shall pass in and out. But they understand not, that there is no Nation can be truly Powerful and Great, that does not Command some Sea-Towns.

As for the Revenues of the King, they are not paid in ready money, but in the natural Productions of the Countries, the most equal sort of Tribute. For some Provinces afford Gold; others Horses, Cattel, Sheep, Corn and Ox Hides, and some few, where Weavers live, send him Garments. They bring their Gold rough and unrefin'd, as they gather it up among the Sands of the Rivers, or digg it out under the Roots of Trees, or else with less Labour find it loose upon the Earth. For they know not how to coyn money, but after the ancient manner, weigh their Mettal, wherein they are many times gull'd by forraign Merchants, who frequently deny the Gold to be pure; and therefore change it for the meanest of their Commodities. How much better might the King provide for himself and his Subjects, should he with Money of his own Coyn, buy up all the Gold in his Kingdom, to his own and the great advantage of his People. *Enarea* (*u*) pays a Thousand and five hundred Ounces of Gold: formerly much more. To *Susneus* it pay'd but a Thousand, and sometimes but Five hundred, when the *Enareans* were either at Wars with the *Gallans*, or else embroyl'd one with another. *Gojam* pays every Year Eleven hundred Ounces, and some Garments, to the value of 3000 *German* Dollars, together with Two hundred Fustian Tapestries, very broad and close woven. Formerly they also pay'd a Tribute of Horses, but *Malec-Saghed* remitted that, to the end they might be the better able to withstand the *Gallans*. Out of *Tigra* he receives Five and twenty thousand Patachs. Out of *Dembea* Five thousand. As much out of other Kingdoms, or sometimes less. There are also several *Tolls* pay'd, but generally granted to the Nobility for their subsistance; except those of the high Mountain, *Lamalmona*, over which all the Merchants and Merchandize must pass from the Red Sea into *Habessinia*, which the King reserves

(*u*) 15000 *Patachs* of *Portugal* or *German* Dollars.

to

to himself. He also has his Lands and Farms, from whence he is serv'd with Provisions for his Table, ten or twelve Horse-Loads at a time. Lastly, *Dembea*, *Gojam*, and *Bagemdra* find him Corn and Flesh. That which he receives out of *Dembea* is distributed among the Souldiers which have no Land, or else among the Poor. But his chief Tribute is from the Graziers, who are bound to pay him every Tenth Oxe or Cow every Three Years: which is as much as if they should pay the 30*th* every Year. And the whole Empire is so divided, that every Year he has his certain Tribute of Cows and Oxen. Besides, every Year every Christian Weaver pays him a Fustian Garment; Every Mahumetan a *Drim*, or Patach, which amounts to a Thousand *Imperials* every Year.

Most certainly the Revenues of this Empire seem to be very small, if we consider the Extent of so many Large Provinces. But on the other side we are to observe, That the Prices of all things are very low. A huge Oxe may be bought for half a Dollar. The Souldiers live upon Flesh and Fish without bread; and Servants Wages are paid in necessary Commodities not in money.

Again, if we consider the plenty of all things; the *Abissine* Emperour has enough and to spare: not that his Diadem glisters with Gemms or Pearls, or that his Treasuries are full of Money; or that his Cupboards shine with Silver and Gold Plate; or that his Table is spread with Forraign Banquets while his Subjects are in want, his Courtiers poor, and his Souldiers under penury. But he has that which suffices to afford him moderate Dyet, and slender Cloathing. Then for his Souldiers and his Warlike Subjects, that is to say, his poor People, they, detain'd at home by no delicacies, are ready still to gird on their Swords. Which they who dexterously and courageously know how to weild in a good Cause, need never want Gold nor Silver, nor what ever Mortals esteem pretious and desireable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Royal City of Axuma, *and the Inauguration of the King.*

Axuma *the Metropolis of* Habeſſinia *formerly. Now more like a Village. Thus the* Weſt *forſak'n by the* Greek *Emperours. The Situation good. The King there formerly Crown'd. The Ceremonies of Inauguration. Some other Towns of* Habeſſinia: *They live in Villages. No Forts nor Caſtles. They wonder great Cities can laſt.*

THE Royal City of the *Abiſsines*, and formerly the Metropolis of the whole Empire, is by the (*x*) *Habiſsines* call'd *Aſcum*: from whence, as we have already obſerv'd, they were formerly call'd *Axumites*. Of old this City was adorn'd with moſt beautiful Structures, a fair Palace, and a Cathedral proudly vaunting her Obelisks, Sculptures, and ſeveral ſumptuous Edifices. Some of the Pillars are ſtill to be ſeen, with Inſcriptions of unknown Letters, remaining arguments of their Antiquity, now demoliſh'd by the Wars, or defac'd with Age. The City it ſelf, now totally ruin'd, looks more like a Village, than a Town of Note; *ſo fading and inconſtant are thoſe things which men account moſt durable.* How many Cities, how many Monuments now lye in aſhes, whoſe Founders are well known? and how many are yet in being, whoſe Founders are unknown? As for this, it began to fall to decay by degrees, preſently after that the Kings of *Habeſſinia* relinquiſh'd it, and remov'd their Court from thence, as being depriv'd of thoſe advantages that attend the abodes of Princes. Thus the Seat of the Empire being Tranſlated to *Byzantium*, the *Weſt* was neglected. And the ſame Fate, no doubt, had certainly befallen *Rome*, had it not bin ſuſtain'd by the Care of the Biſhops, now the *Roman* Pontiffs. In the time of the *Adelan* Warr, the Revolt of the Vice-Roy of *Tigra* in the Raign of King *Menas*; and laſtly, when the *Turks*

(*x*) Of which *Nonnoſus* in *Bibliothec Phot. n* 3. *p. m.* 2. Αὐξωμις πόλις ἐϛι μεγίϛη, καὶ οἷον μητρόπολις ἁπάσης αἰθιοπίας. *Auxuma* is a very great City, and as it were the Metropolis of all *Ethiopia*; erroneouſly *Chaxumo* in *Alvarez*, c. 17.

invaded that Country, it was totally lay'd waſt; and now can ſcarcely ſhelter a hundred Inhabitants: onely the Ruines ſtill remain, to teſtifie that once it was great and populous. It is Seated in the Fourteenth degree and a half of Northern Latitude, Encircled with pleaſant and fertile Fields which afford a Proſpect becoming a Royal Manſion. It lies diſtant from the Red-Sea Five and forty *Portugal* Leagues, or ſix or Seaven tireſom days Journey by reaſon of the Mountains that lye between. The antient things of *Ethiopia* were went to be here inaugurated; nor would *Suſneus* admit of his Coronation in any other place, though when he related the particulars of the Ceremonies to the Commander of the *Portugueſes*, he could not but laugh at them, as ridiculous himſelf, *For many things are to be done by Princes to pleaſe the Vulgar, which to others may ſeem ſuperfluous*, Such as were for the moſt part the *Solemn Ceremonies of the Antients invented by mean Capacities, but retain'd by the more prudent.* *Tellezius* thus ſets them down. When *Suſneus* was to be Crown'd, firſt the Maſters of the Ceremonies, read to the King out of their Memorandums, how and in what order every thing was to be perform'd. The Army being drawn up, the Foot march'd firſt: then follow'd the Horſe with their Trappings: after them the Courtiers Comb'd, and neatly habited: preſently appear'd the Emperour himſelf upon a ſtately Prauncer, clad with a cloſe Purple Damaſcene Tunic, and over that a magnificent *Attalic* Veſtment, with narrow Sleeves hanging down to the ground. When they came to a great Stone engraven with Forraign Characters, not far from the Church of *Axuma*, near to which the Solemnities of the Inauguration us'd to be perform'd, the Emperour with all the Courtiers alighting from their Horſes, ſtood upon the Ground that was ſpread with rich Carpets. At what time the Virgins of *Axuma*, holding a Silken Cord croſs the Street, ſtopp'd the Way, and as the King preſs'd to go forwards, they hindred him, and ask'd him, *Who he was?* who anſwering, *I am the King of the Iſraelites.* They reply'd, *Surely thou art not our King.* Which ſaid, he retir'd ſmiling. At length being ask'd a third time; he reply'd, *I am the King of Sion*: and drawing forth his Cimitar, cut the Cord: which done, the Virgin cry'd out, *Of a certainty, thou art our King of Sion.* Preſently all the Guns they have are fir'd, and the neighbouring Mountains rang with loud Acclamations; the Drums beat

to

to the noise of the Flutes, and the Trumpets fill'd the Air with harmonious Levets. Which done, the *Metropolitan Simeon* accompany'd with all the Ecclesiastical Orders of Clerks, Monks, and Canons, singing several Songs and Hymns, conducted the King to the first Porch of the Church, and there set the Diadem upon his Head. The King being crown'd, if it may be so call'd; proceeded forward into the Temple, and there receiv'd the Eucharist; which having done he rode back to the Camp with his Diadem upon his head. For in *Ethiopia* they use no Scepter. Nor is the Crown any other than a Hatt twice doubled, with an Azure colour'd Silken broad brimm trimm'd with Gold and Silver Plates, in the likeness Lillies; with a row of false stones glistering between every Plate.

Besides *Axuma*, there are no Cities in *Habessinia*, and but few Towns. In the Kingdom of *Tigra*, *Dobarva* is the Seat of the Vice-Roys: *Fremona*, the first Residence of the Fathers of the Society, enlarg'd by the *Portugueses*. *Gubay*, a Town in *Dembea*, where the Queen resides. *Nanina* in *Gojam*, long inhabited by the *Portugueses*. *Macana celace*, in *Amhara*. To reck'n up more is not worth the while: neither is it certain whether those already mention'd are standing or no. For in regard of the meanness of the Building, there is nothing of invitation to hinder their being deserted and layd wast by the Inhabitants themselves; in regard the *Habessines* choose rather to live after the manner of Villagers, not caring that their Houses should joyn one to another; which saves them many Suits in Law. For they never fear any Actions about Party-Walls, stopping up of Lights, or Nusances of Water-Courses. In places that are fertile and till'd, you shall see the Fields, as it were, planted with Houses, which affords no unpleasant Prospect. They have neither Castles nor Forts. The Celebrated Mountains of *Amhara* are their onely Citadels, where the Kings Children were formerly committed to Custody. The *Habessines* wonder to hear of so many great Cities among Us. For they do not believe the Country can afford Timber and Food sufficient for so many Houses, nor the Cattel that must support such Numbers of People, remaining so long in one place. For they pitch their Tents up and down the Country, and cut down and make havock of what ever they have need of, without any consideration of the dammage, or regard to the future. For they neither Navi-

gate their own Rivers, neither do they know what belongs to Carriage or Stores; living without any care of to Morrow.

Chap. XII.

Of the Kings Court, his Titles, and his Court-Officers.

The Kings live in Tents: P. Pays *built a Palace. The Kings Table. Women attend: Plain dyet. The King and the Nobility cramm'd. They drink after they have done: They read the whole Psalter before meales. The ancient manner of receiving Ambassadors: now chang'd. Formerly two Court Officers: discontinnu'd. The* Ras *now chief Minister in Peace and War. Officers beside.*

After the Kings of *Habessinia* left *Axuma*, they never had any constant Mansion, nor any Palaces, but contented themselves to live in Tents. But at length *Peter Pays* built the King a Palace after the *European* manner, which cost him an incredible deal of Labour and Industry; for that in regard of the want of Artists, he was forc'd to teach them every thing, and to look after the Work like a Master-Builder. He chose to build this House in a most commodious and delightful place call'd *Gorgora*, being a kind of Peninsula, almost surrounded by the *Tzanic* Lake, where the King was wont to take up his Winter-Quarters, and contriv'd it very spacious and beautiful, with Rooms of State, Bed-Chambers, Galleries, Battlements and Balconies, which yielded a most pleasant Prospect over the Lake, and the Neighbouring Fields. Insomuch, that it was not inferiour to the Country Palaces of some of our *Europeans* Princes. The *Abessines* were amaz'd when they saw one story rais'd above another, which they thought could never have bin done: and call'd it *House upon House*. Nor till that time did they believe the Fathers, when they told them of the numerous and splendid Palaces, Sumptuous Cathedrals, and Stately Monasteries in *Europe*. For those things they related to the *Abessines*, to make them in love with the Magnificence and Majesty of the *Roman* Church.

The Garniture of the Kings Table is much different from ours.

ours. For no person is admitted into the Room while the King is at Dinner; or if any of the Nobility be invited, they must stay till the King rises: then they take their places at the same Table, and eat the Kings Leavings, which is look'd upon as a very great Honour. Yet the Fathers of the Society were admitted to Dine by themselves, in the same Room next to *Susneus*'s Bed-Chamber. To which purpose there were two low little round Tables, about Eighteen Spans in Compass, brought in to the Room and plac'd upon the Ground which was spread with Carpets; one lesser for the King, another bigger for the Fathers, but without Table-Cloaths or Napkins: instead of which they made use of thin Wafers made of Wheat or Rie past. So that their Table-cloaths serv'd them for Bread, which there was no need for the Servants to take away, fold up, or wash: no Trenchers, Knives, Forks, nor Spoons: no Salt-seller, no Pepper or Sugar-box; nothing of Extravagant was there to be seen: A great Ease to them in time of Warr; to us an impediment, while so many Carts, so many Waggons are requir'd to carry Kitchin Utensils, and Kitchin Officers, to pleasure our Luxury. The Meat is serv'd up by Women, not in Gold or Silver Dishes, but in broad Earthen Platters, which would never tempt an *European* Thief. They are made of black Clay, with covers of Straw neatly woven and painted. The meat is very ordinary, Flesh and Broths of several sorts boyl'd after their fashion. So soon as the Dishes are marshall'd; the Hangings are presently let down, lest any one should see the King while he is eating: and truly there is good Reason why. For, the King and the chief Nobility, a thing you would think almost incredible, account it a great trouble to lift their hands to their mouths. Aud therefore the Children belonging to Court, take the meat and put it in their mouths, and if the Gobbets be too bigg, they thrust 'em in, as they do that cramm Capons. The crumms that fall, sometimes they put again i' their chopps after they are well soak'd in the Broth. A way of eating that may well deserve a good thick covering: as being a sight, that would certainly cause our squeamish Stomachs, that will hardly eat off of one anothers Trenchers, to rise a hungry. But this is common both to Lord and Peasant, that they never drink till they have done feeding.

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One thing we muſt not omit, which is, that they always read Prayers both before and after meals: a thing that ſome of our Courtiers are in a manner aſham'd of, who will hardly tarry to hear a ſhort Grace; while here you ſhall have the whole *Pſalter* repeated at their great Feaſts, without any inconvenience to the Gueſts: For he whoſe Office it is, diſtributes to every one a part. The King and they that are accuſtom'd to it, know their proper time. The larger *Pſalmes* are divided among more, the ſhorter to one ſingly. And thus by ſeveral, the whole *Pſalter* is read, as it were, in a moment. For the *Pſalter* is made uſe of by all: neither have they any other Book for dayly Prayer.

Their manner of giving Audience to Ambaſſadors is different from what it was in former times. For *Alvarez* relates how that after long waiting, and a deal of haughty formality, the *Portugal* Embaſſadour, *Lodowic Limæus*, was four times ask'd *From whence he came?* and that he receiv'd no other anſwer the firſt day, but that *They were Welcome*: nor were they admitted to the King; and yet Preſents were to be left. Nor was the Embaſſadour to be Viſited by any one, before he had kiſs'd the Kings hands. At length, after he had bin ſeveral times call'd, he was firſt admitted to diſcourſe the King, the Hangings being let down between them; and at laſt, with much ado, to ſee and ſalute the King. Of which the chief Reaſon was thought to be, becauſe he had brought no Preſent (for it is not lawful to appear before the Eaſtern or *African* Kings, without an acknowledgment) or elſe becauſe he wanted the Kings Credentials. Which ſuperbneſs is now adays layd aſide; for that being humbled by ſo many Loſſes and Calamities, they begin to reckon Urbanity and Civility among the reſt of the Vertues.

Among the Court Employments, the chiefeſt Dignity was that of the Perſon who was call'd *Bahtudet*, of whom one was of the *Right* hand, and the other of the *Left*. They were the chief Miniſters of State, and manag'd all Affairs, and were entruſted with all the Kings Secrets; with them alone the King conſulted; few others being admitted into his Preſence: as if Majeſty were more Venerable when conceal'd. But afterwards ſo much Greatneſs in Subjects began to grow irkſome

irksome to the Kings; and some there are also that abuse their Power: few men being able to contain themselves within those Bounds of moderation, to be able to do all things, and yet not to covet all things. For there are many Examples of those, who out of a desire of preserving their Greatness, have requited their Masters with ill Turns for Favours of the highest nature; making use of that authority which they receiv'd from their Princes, to their mischief. By which means *Kings* have bin overwhelm'd by the hatred of the People; or else have bin forc'd to pull down that Greatness with extream hazard, which they themselves advanc'd. Those Princes act more prudent that keep the Power in their own hands, never trusting to the Management of one single Person. Neither are they less provident Ministers, who never affect it: For the Grand Affairs of a Kingdom are more safely and easily manag'd by Plurality.

To these succeeded another Chief Officer whom the *Ethiopians* call *Ras*, from the Arabic word which signifies a *Head*. The reason of whose institution at first, was for the Command of the Army. But as Warlike Command, and Martial Fame excell all other accomplishments; it came to pass in a short time, that these chief Generals advanc'd themselves above all others, to govern the Kings Counsels, and so by degrees to be the chief Ministers of State for the management of all Affairs, both Forraign and Domestic, such a one was *Ras-Athanasius*, who first deposed *Zadenghel*, and then *Jacob*, so that *Susneus* did not hold it convenient to confer so great a dignity upon any person, unless it were by his Brother by the Mothers side, by name *Ras-Selach*. Next to him, there are two Comptrollers of the Court. The upper Comptroller, who is called *Bellatenot-Gueta*, as much as to say Master of the Officers, whose jurisdiction reaches all Inferior Vice-Roys, Prefects, Governors of Provinces, and Judges. The other is called *Dakaka Bellatenot-Gueta* who comtroles the Houshold Servants, the Grooms and such like, who are generally of mean Condition, and of several Nations. Slaves also set free are admitted to Dignities and Offices. For the Kings believe their Slaves, when freed, will be most faithful, as owing to their Fortunes to none alive besides.

Next

Next in Dignity to the Court Officers, are the Vice-Roys, and Princes, Camp-Masters, Senators, and Kings-Counsellors, who are called the lesser Judges and Magistrates without any distinction of Superior or Inferior Judges: for they have equal Jurisdiction and Cognizance of all Crimes. The Captain of the Kings Guard they call the *Guardian of the Fire*, not without reason comparing the King to Fire. *For that they who are Servants to Kings and Princes, receive heat and warmth from them as from the Fire; though if they act not prudently, they may chance to be cruelly burnt.*

Chap. XIII.

Of the King's Camp.

The Kings Tent described: The Camp pitch'd in great order. The same always. It consists of four parts: formerly in Shewa, *now in* Dembea. *How large. As it were a Marching City; the great Power of the Camp-Masters.*

WHatever others have feign'd concerning any other Royal City or Metropolis, besides *Axumas*, are meer Fables. For the Kings of *Habessinia* live continually in Tents, whether it be that they are not accustomed to Houses, or that their frequent Wars and tedious marches will not admit of long rest. The Kings Pavilion is a very large one, of white colour placed in the middle of the Camp; there being a large space of Ground left void round about it; as well to prevent the Casualties of Fire, as also to receive the Horses of the Nobility and those that bring Provisions. Next to him, the Grandees, the Friends and kindred of the *King* and the rest of the Courtiers pitch up their Apartments. The whole Camp consists of four parts, every one of which has his Camp-Master. The first part is call'd the *Front*; and the Camp-Master is call'd *Fit-aurari*. The Hindmost part is call'd *Chuala*. The First Camp-Master goes before to take up convenient Ground where there is store of Wood and Grass, chiefly near some River or Lake, to prevent want of Water. Having chosen out his Ground, he fixes a Pole in the Earth with the Royal Banner at the Topp; upon the sight whereof, they that measure for the Nobility, set up their

their Masters Lodgings. After them the Common Souldiery, and others that follow the Camp either for Victuals, or else upon business. And thus in a few hours time the whole Camp appears in the same Order as it was before. For every one knowes his place and his proportion, there being never any alteration of the Order, but the same Streets and Lanes, the same distance of Tents, so that were it not for the variation of the Prospect, other Mountains, other Rivers, and another Face of the Country, you would think your self still in the same place. When the Cryer has once proclaim'd the day of Removal, they presently know how to pack up their Baggage, and in what order to march without any more ado; who are to march in the Front, who in the Rear; who on the Right, who on the Left hand: so that all things are done without Noise or Tumult.

Neither is there any thing which more commends the Industry of the *Abessines*. For what they have acquir'd by long use and continual War, they still retain; never pester'd with confusion either marching or sitting still. The constant disposal and largeness of the Camp may be understood from hence, that the same Dialect and the same words continue in the same Streets and Quarters: in other Quarters another sort of words, and a different Dialect: as for *Dala*, a word used in the Front of the Camp, which signifies to *put in*; the Vulgar in the Rear Quarter say, *Tshammara*. Of old, before the *Gallans* conquer'd it, the Camp was pitch'd in *Shewa*, a fertile and most plentiful Countrey. But for the most part in *December*, and that for three or four years together in one place. In the beginning of *Susneus*'s Reign in the year 1607, they pitch'd at *Coga*. Thence they remov'd to *Gorgora*, in the year 1612, from thence to *Dancaza*; and lastly to *Guendra* which place, *Bernier* because he had heard perhaps that it was the Residence of the King, calls the Metropolis of *Ethiopia*; of which perhaps in a few years there will be nothing to be seen.

These Camps take up a vast deal of room, as well in the Summer as in the Winter, for they do not onely contain the Souldiers, but their Wives and their Children, whose work it is to bake their Bread, and make their Hydromel. So that the weak and helpless multitude far exceeds the number of

the Souldiery. Nor are they without Merchants and Tradesmen of all ſorts, beſides Slaves and Lackeys, neceſſary for ſuch a Multitude: So that the Camp looks more like an Ambulatory City, and moving Houſes, then a Martial Camp. So many Tents and Pavilions ſeeming a far off to repreſent the Proſpect of ſome great Town. But leſs wonderful is that which is reported out of *India*; That near the Iſland of *Sumatra*, there are certain Cities, if they may be ſo call'd, which are always ſwimming, and yet great Markets and Fairs are kept therein; and many People live there who have no other Country or Habitation.

Now for the Camp-maſters whom the *Ethiopians* call *Sebea Catine*, they carry a great ſway in managing the Succeſſion of the Kings, and affairs of greateſt moment. The Kings alſo themſelves are guided by them in making and abrogating Laws; and generally they are the firſt ſprings of Faction and Sedition. And as formerly the *Pretorean* Bands gave Laws to Prince and People, ſo among the *Habeſſines* the effect of all Conſultations good or bad derive themſelves from the Camp.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Military Affairs of the Habeſsines.

Continual war. The Winter cauſes a Truce. The Habeſſines *good Soldiers. Strong and active. They ſerve without pay. They plunder the Countries as they march. The* Gallans *ſecur'd by their Poverty. The* Habeſſines *ignorant in Fire-Arms. Few Muskets, and fewer Musketeers. Their Armies conſiſt moſt of Foot. Light Armour. Drumms us'd by the Horſe. Their Weapons. Bad Diſcipline: becauſe they count it no ſhame to flie. Their Onſets furious. Their Rocks are their Fortreſſes. The King Commands in chief. Theives unpuniſh'd.*

THat the *Habeſsines* are a Warlike People and continually exercis'd in War, we have already declar'd: neither is there any reſpit but what is caus'd by the Winter, at what time by reaſon of the Inundations of the Rivers, they are forc'd to be quiet. For they have neither Ships nor Boats: neither do they know how to make Bridges to command a paſſage over their violent Streams. Concerning which, *Gregory* wrote to me in theſe words:

There is no making War in Ethiopia *in the Winter time; neither does the Enemy attack us, nor we them; by reaſon of the great falls of Rain and the Inundations of the Rivers.*

Tellezius alſo further teſtifies, That the *Habeſsines* are good Souldiers. They ride and manage a Horſe well; and readily take Arms; as well in obedience to their Soveraign, as for other cauſes already mention'd. They are ſtrong, They endure hunger and thriſt beyond belief, and with little ſuſtenance can brook any unſeaſonable ſort of weather. They ſerve without pay: contented with honour and applauſe, and ſuch Lands, as the King after the Roman Cuſtom beſtows upon the well deſerving. Therefore they muſt certainly be thought to fight much more generouſly and faithfully in the defence of their Countrey then Hirelings. They expect no part of the Enemies Booty, nor no redemption, and therefore never ſerve them in the Field. and becauſe they know not the art of protracting a War, therefore they never are ſparing of themſelves to return home rich. However the Poverty of the Souldiers impo-

verishes the Countries through which they march. For in regard it is a difficult thing to carry Provisions over such steep and rugged Mountains, and long wayes, they take by force what is not freely given them; and by that means lay wast their own Countries no less then their Enemies: whereby the poor Countrey people are constrain'd to turn Souldiers, and so taught to deal by others, as they were dealt wirh themselves. For which reason they neither can vanquish nor make any long pursuit after the *Gallans*; who being retir'd with their Droves, the Pursuers find nothing left behind but Lands untill'd, and empty Cottages. So invincible a Fortress is Poverty to withstand the stoutest Enemy. But, as we have said already, Those *Gallans* might easily be vanquish'd, did but the *Habessines* know the use of Muskets. *Tellezius* writes, that they have among them about fifteen hundred Musquets, but not above four Musqueteers, and they but very bad Fire-men neither; neither do the Commanders know how to place and order them to the best advantage: and therefore after they have once discharg'd, the Enemy rushes on so furiously before they can charge again, that they they are forc'd to to throw their Musquets away: and then another thing is; they have but very little Powder.

The biggest Army which the King brings now into the Field hardly amounts to Forty thousand Men, among which he has not above Four or Five thousand Horse, the rest are all Foot. Their horses are couragious and mettlesome, but they never get upon their backs till they are ready to charge the Enemy: at other times they ride their Mules, and lead their Horses. They are slightly arm'd after the manner of the antient *Velites*; and tho their Stirrups are no bigger then onely to thrust in their great Toes, least if the Horse should fall, their feet should be hung in the Stirup, yet they sit very fast. Their Weapons are Swords and Darts, as also Launces and short Javelins, with which they fight at a distance; after which they dispute it hand to hand with their Swords or Launces, and Bucklers. Their War like Musick for the Horse are Drums much bigger then ours, and the King's, which are the biggest, go by the name of the *Bear* and the *Lyon*. Besides which, several Hornes and Fifes march before Him. They for the most part, are arm'd

arm'd with two Spears, of which they dart away the one at a diſtance, and maintain a cloſe fight with the other, defending themſelves with their Bucklers. The Horſe never fight afoot, nor the Foot a horſeback: a practice very neceſſary in ſuch a Country, where many times there is no uſe of Horſe. In brief, the Military Diſcipline of the *Habeſsines* is very irregular; rather the fault of the Captains that know not how to command them, than of the Souldiers. For they run away without any fear of Infamy or Puniſhment: neither do they know how to rally when they are once diſorder'd; ſo that the firſt array being broken, the reſt are carry'd away like a Torrent: neither do they ſtrengthen their Wings with Reſerves; neither do they ſeparate the Veterans from the Raw Souldiers, diſheartning the Courage of the one, by the unequal mixture of the other. The fury of the firſt Onſet for the moſt part wins the Field: for which reaſon, the *Gallans* ſurpaſſing the *Habeſsines* in heat and violence, have ſo often vanquiſh'd them. They are not eaſily perſwaded to avoid the Combat, believing it ſloathful and daſtardly to tire out an Enemy by delay, and wait for opportunities. Which has bin the Ruin of many of their Kings, that have joyn'd Battel with more Courage, than Prudent Advice. The Kings themſelves, for the moſt part bred up in the field, command their own Armies themſelves; or elſe they create a *Ras*, to command in their ſtead.

One thing more remains behind, That this Country is very much infeſted with Robbers as well as Enemies; who many times robb in Troops like Souldiers, and very much infeſt the Roads; and this without any ſearching after, or care taken to puniſh them; by reaſon that the King and the Governours being wholly buſied with continual Wars, have no time to ridd the Nation of theſe Vermin, who being purſu'd, preſently ſhelter themſelves among the Rocks and Mountains.

CHAP.

Chap. XV.

Of the Wars in the last Century, Especially of the Fatal War of the Adelans.

Their ancient Wars incertain; the distance between Egypt, *and our* Ethiopia. Caleb's *Expedition into* Arabia. *The Wars of the last Century: First the* Adelan *dreadful. The Lamentations of the* Ethiopians *at* Rome. *Caus'd by the sloath and voluptuousness of their Princes: The assistance of the* Turk, *and Fire-Arms: The* Portugals *assist the* Habessines. *The Enemie vanquish'd by* Gomez. *His Fame; His Fidelity tempted by* Grainus: *but in vain: They both act warily:* Grainus *fights, and his Horse shot under him. A second Battel. The Enemies Camp taken.* Gomeus *forces the Jews Rock.* Gomez *wounded, kill'd, his death reveng'd by* Claudius. Grainus *overcome and slain. The Kingdom at quiet. The* Adelans *recover strength, vanquish and kill* Claudius. *To whom* Menas *succeeds, who is also slain in the Field.* Serzadenghel *vanquishes the* Turk. *Civil Wars after his death.*

WE shall forbear to set down over-ancient or incertain Relations, concerning the Expeditions of the Kings of *Ethiopia* into *Egypt*, in regard it does not appear to us, what part of *Ethiopia* those Writers mean; or how far the Empire of the *Abessines* of old extended. For those things which Historians have deliver'd to memory in reference to the *Ethiopians* adjoyning upon *Egypt*, are not presently to be apply'd to the *Ethiopians*. For that the distance between *Egypt* and our *Ethiopia*, comprehends Eight or nine degrees, or a hunder'd *German* Miles and more. In which wide space, *Nubia* was seated, so that there might be Kings of other *Ethiopick* Nations next to that. And therefore till we see the Histories themselves of the *Abissines*, we are unwilling to publish Incertainties for Certainties. But that the *Habessines* did make several Famous Expeditions into *Arabia*, is a thing not to be question'd; insomuch, that some of them have made a Computation of their Years from thence: and that the Kingdom of the *Homerites* was totally subdu'd by *Caleb*, we have already declar'd. To omit then several other Wars wag'd with their Neighbours, the Stories of which are to us unknown: as for example, that with the *Nubians* in the 25*th* Year of the former Century, recorded by *Alvarez*; the most lamentable and most fatal was that War which they enter'd into

into with the *Adelans* their Ancient Enemies. True it is indeed, that in the beginning of his Raign, *David* vanquish'd them in several Battels. But after the *Turks* had vanquish'd *Egypt*, and some Ports of the *Red Sea*, the *Adelans*, strengthen'd by their assistance, turn'd the Scale of Fortune, and were always Victors. For King *Adelis* sent one *Ahmed*, a *Mahumetan*, vulgarly call'd *Grainus*, or *Grannus*, that is to say, *Left-handed*, with an Army to invade *Habessinia*, and revenge the Losses of the *Adelans*. He, about the Year 1526, subdu'd all *Fatagara*. For the first two Years the War was carry'd on with various Success; but the next Twelve Years to the Year 1540, at what time King *David* deceas'd, the *Habessines* had the worst of it. The King having lost the choicest of his Kingdoms, and his Second Son *Menas*, who was taken Prisoner, languish'd out the rest of his days in the Rock *Damus*. And indeed the *Habessines* were brought to that low and miserable Condition, that they began to despair of their Countrey. For such are the Lamentations which we find made by those that liv'd at *Rome*, in the Epilogue printed after the Gospel of St. *John*.

Not without reason do we weep, when we call to mind the Captivity of our Brethren, our Countrey layd wast, Our Temples Burnt, our Books and our Sanctuaries consum'd with Fire, and the Profanation of our Monasteries by that wicked and impious Grainus, *a Companion for Goats, a Persecutor and Invader of the Sheep, from* Waigaci, *to the Red Sea.*

Among the Causes of such a Torrent of Calamities, these may be reck'nd not to be the least: for that the King, vanquish'd by his own sluggish humour, had given himself wholly up to the Temptations of Pleasure; so dedicated to Women, that he permitted some of them to have their Idols in his Palace. Next, the *Turks*, out of their inbred hatred to Christianity, had supply'd their *Mahumetan* Friend with Fire-Arms, and such as knew well how to use them; whose Thunder, then by the *Abessines* first heard, they were not able to endure; nor did they know how to cure the Wounds which the Bullets made, as not being accustom'd to them: besides, that on the other side, the *Mahumetans* so numerously abounding throughout *Abessinia*, favourably every where entertain'd those of their own Sect. Many also of

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the *Abeſsines* themſelves, following, as is uſual, the Fortune of the Victor, forſook their Native Soveraign: So that now every thing threaten'd utter deſtruction and deſolation, when the King, lurking among the Rocks, began to bethink himſelf of craving Succour from the *Portugals*. To that purpoſe in the Year 1535, one *John Bermudes*, a *Portugueſe*, was ſent. Who firſt arriv'd at *Rome* in the Year 1538, where he was made Patriarch joyntly of *Ethiopia* and *Alexandria*, and afterwards went into *Portugal* in the Year 1539, and there obtain'd a Commiſſion from *John* the Third, to the Vice-Roy of *India*, to ſend Aſſiſtance to the *Abeſsines*. Their Commander was *Chriſtopher Gomez*, a Perſon of great Valour, who in the Month of *July*, in the Year 1541, enter'd the Kingdom with Six ſmall Field-Pieces, and Four hundred and fifty Muſqueteers. At firſt they had a very ſevere March: for they wanted Horſes and Teams: the Country being ſo waſted, that they were forc'd to carry their Luggage and Conveniencies upon their ſhoulders over moſt rugged and ſteep Mountains. Nevertheleſs, theſe Souldiers, few in number, but all choice men, and coveting the honour to reſtore the King of *Habeſsinia* to his Kingdom and his Liberty, patiently underwent all ſorts of hardſhip. This caus'd a change of Fortune, ſo that now the late Victors were every where put to flight, aſtoniſh'd at the Execution of the Guns. In the firſt place, *Gomez* aſſail'd the Rock *Amba-Sanet*, which was thought invincible, and forc'd the Enemy to quit it. Whereby he won to himſelf great Fame, and highly Encourag'd the *Habeſsines*. Firſt therefore the Kings Mother, confiding in this ſmall Force, left a certain Rock, which gave acceſs to none, nor permitted any to aſcend, but as they were drawn up or let down with Ropes, and chear'd them with her preſence. *Claudius*, who lay ſculking in the Kingdom of *Shewa*, had writ word he would be ſuddainly with them, but durſt not adventure through ſo many Numbers of the Enemies that lay in the way. So that *Gomez* with ſome few of the *Habeſsinians*, was conſtrain'd to bear the whole burthen of the War with a moſt incredible Courage. The *Barbarians* were not ignorant of the Gallantry of the *Portugals*, nor did they believe their own People had hearts ſufficient to withſtand the Fury of the great Guns. And therefore thinking it convenient as well to try the Diſpoſition of *Gomez*, as to ſpie what Force he had, they ſent certain Commiſſioners to him, pretending to blame

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blame his raſhneſs, and to offer him ſafe Conduct, as being deceiv'd by the *Abeſsines*, if he thought fit to return. But *Gomeus*, as it were provok'd with the indignity they had put upon him, gave them an anſwer that ſavour'd both of fierceneſs and contempt, telling them, *That he was ſent by the moſt Potent King of the* Portugals, *to revenge the Injuries done to the* Habeſſines ; *and that his coming was not to return again, but to fight* Grainus. The Enemies Force in that place was 15000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, together with 200 *Turkiſh* Muſqueteers, whom *Gomeus* had moſt reaſon to fear. But he confiding in the Courage of his own men, tho but a ſmall parcel, reſolv'd upon a Battel. However, he keeps within his Camp. On the other ſide, *Grainus* would not ſtir, well knowing the *Portugals* had Proviſion but for a few days; which being ſpent, they would be forc'd to forſake the Hill where they lay Encamp'd, and ſo might be eaſily environ'd by his Numbers. Nor did that cunning in part fail the *Barbarian* ; for the *Portugals* were forc'd to forſake their Camp, but could not be ſurrounded by the Enemy, in regard their Field-Pieces and Muſquets ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the *Mahumetans*, that they, contemning all Orders of their Captain, would not ſtir. And it ſo happen'd, that *Grainus* himſelf, riding about to force his men on, was wounded in the Hips with a Muſquet Bullet, and had his Horſe ſhot under him. The fall of the Captain quite damp'd the Courage of the Souldiers ; ſo that they preſently retreated, and the *Portugals* keeping the Field, look'd upon themſelves as Victors. Twelve days after the *Barbarians* renew'd the Fight, for which the *Portugals* were prepar'd. While both ſides fought at firſt with equal Succeſs, an Accident happen'd, lamentable in ſight, but yet the cauſe of the Victory. For while the Souldiers went with their lighted Matches to fetch Powder, a Barrel took fire, the noiſe of which ſo terrify'd the *Barbarians* Horſes, that their Riders not being able to rule them, they diſorder'd the Body of the Army; which the *Portugals* obſerving, lay'd all their force upon the *Turks*, who being put to flight, the reſt eaſily follow'd. However, they could not purſue them far, becauſe they had but Eight Horſes. Nevertheleſs the Enemies Camp was taken and plunder'd. This was the work of that Summer : for the Winter coming on, put an end to farther Action. The Winter now declining, the *Portugals*, who thought nothing too difficult for them to undertake, attack'd another

ſteep Rock in *Samen*, call'd the *Jews Rock*, which was kept by the *Adelans*, with a Garriſon of 1500 men. For it was large, and contain'd many Fields, Meadows, Fountains and Streams. The attempt was occaſion'd by a *Jew*, who had bin formerly Governor of the Rock, who hearing of the Courage of the *Portugals*, advis'd the taking of it, in regard there were many Horſes in it, which the *Portugueſes* principally wanted: and the more to encourage them, he promis'd to ſhew them ſuch by-ways, that they might be able to ſurprize the Garriſon; adding withal, That there would be no ſafe Paſſage for *Claudius*, ſo long as the Enemy held that Paſs. *Gomez* underſtanding by the Queen that the *Jew* ſpake truth, undertook the Enterprize with proſperous Succeſs: for having ſlain all the *Barbarians*, he got a Booty there of Fourſcore brave Horſes, Three hundred Mules, ſeveral Slaves, and other good Plunder beſide. After which he reſtor'd the Rock to the *Jews*, underſtanding they had always bin faithful to the *Habeſsines*.

In the mean while *Grainus* finding there was no good to be done againſt the *Portugals* without Guns and Fire-Arms, ſent for immediate Aſſiſtance from the Neighbouring *Turks*, and petty Baſha's of *Arabia*. So that he obtain'd from the Baſhaw of *Zebid* a freſh Supply of Seven hundred, ſome ſay, Nine hundred Muſqueteers, and Ten Field-Pieces. Some noble *Arabians* alſo that were his Friends came to his aſſiſtance. *Gomez*, either knowing nothing of this, or elſe heighten'd by his two former Victories, never ſtaying for *Claudius*, as he ought to have done; in regard he delayed ſomewhat longer than was expected, nor yet tarrying for ſome of the *Portugals* who brought Horſes along with them: Or whether it were, that he was conſtrain'd to it, as having no place of Retreat, and did not believe that *Grainus* himſelf would appear before the Winter was over, gave the Enemy the opportunity of a Battel. But being over-powr'd by the *Turks*, he was wounded with a Muſquet Bullet in the Thigh. He himſelf, having loſt many of his own Souldiers, and the ſtouteſt of his Commanders, by the help of the Night eſcap'd to a Rock. The wounded and weary were all ſlain, the reſt diſperſed themſelves into the Woods, while the Camp became a Prey to the Enemy. Fourteen only accompanied *Gamez*, the moſt of them wounded; who void of all aſſiſtance, without food or medicaments, refreſh'd themſelves by the Fountains

which

which afforded but ſmall relief. There they were apprehended by the *Turks* and *Arabians*, and carried to *Grainus* exulting for joy of his Succeſs He cauſing about a hundred of the heads of the *Portuguezes* to be brought and laid down before him, upbraided *Gomez* for his madneſs in undertaking a War againſt him: and then after he had receiv'd a ſtern anſwer from his Captive, caus'd him to be tormented to death.

After that misfortune, the King came up, ſad for the loſs of *Gomez*, whom he deſired moſt earneſtly to have beheld with his Eyes. Nor were they leſs ſad to whoſe aſſiſtance he came, as well for the loſs they had receiv'd, as becauſe he had brought ſo few Forces with him. Therefore they lay ſtill three or four months, till they could raiſe more. They being come, the *Portugals*, who were now reduc'd to a hundred and twenty, and yet zealous to revenge the death of their Captain, were very urgent with the King to fight, giving him great hopes of Victory. For they had intelligence that the *Turks* were return'd home, leaving only two hundred behind them: whether by Command of their *Baſſha*, or taking it ill that *Gomez* was not deliver'd to them. The King, though he had not above Eight thouſand Foot, and Five hundred Horſe, reſolv'd to follow the Inclinations of the *Portugals*. And firſt in a ſlight skirmiſh he routed ſome of the *Barbarian* Forces that marched before; Then ſets upon *Grainus* himſelf, who led an Army of 13000 men, and vanquiſh'd him; *Grainus* himſelf, the Terror of *Habeſsinia* for ſo many years, was ſhot with a Musket Bullet by a *Portugueze*, who reveng'd the death of his Captain. All the *Turks* but fourteen were ſlain. The head of *Grainus* was expoſed to the view of the People in ſeveral Provinces and Kingdoms of *Habeſsinia*, to the great comfort of the beholders. For upon the ſight of it, the *Abiſsines* recover'd Vigour and Courage; They congratulated their Kings Succeſs; and they who had revolted, return'd to their duty, pretending neceſſity for the fault committed. The King conſidering the condition of thoſe times, thought it convenient to pardon all, to confirm the wavering, to win the hearts of his People by Clemency, to rally his ſcatter'd Forces, and to do all thoſe things which were neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of his Kingdom. Onely one of the principal Com-

manders, to whom the King had granted his pardon, the *Portuguezes* put to death as laying to his charge the Murder of *Gomez*. His perfidiousneſs was thought to have deſerv'd death; and ſo juſtice prevail'd, without any further notice being taken of it. In the mean time, the *Gallans*, till then an obſcure Nation, were neglected, tho they had invaded many Provinces already laid waſt by the *Adelans*; not being look'd upon as ſuch as would have encreas'd ſo much to the future dammage of the Kingdom. There was ſtill a greater fear of the *Adelans*, who having in time repair'd their Loſſes, onely waited an Opportunity to make a New Invaſion. Soon after their Spies returning with intelligence that the *Habeſsines* were grown ſecure, and conſequently careleſs, undet *Nurus* their Captain, they again broke into *Habeſsinia* with a mighty Force; overthrew *Claudius* who advanc'd to oppoſe them, and ſlew him. After his Death, *Menas* obtain'd the Crown, hated by the People for his Cruelty. From thence Inteſtine Wars enſuing, the *Turks* being call'd into the Kingdom, overthrew the King in Battel and ſlew him; which gave them an eaſie advantage to make themſelves Maſters of the Port of *Arkiko*, and the Iland of *Matzua*. His Son *Zerza-Denghel*, much more fortunate than his Father, perform'd many brave Atchievements, and beat the *Turks* of *Tigra*, but could not regain *Arkiko*, nor the Iland of *Matzua*. He raign'd Thirty Years continually vex'd with the *Gallans*, or harraſs'd with Inteſtine Broyls. After his Death, Civil Diſſenſions, and deadly Strifes between the Royal Off-ſpring about the Crown, ſo weakn'd the *Habeſsines*, tormented at the ſame time with the *Gallans*, that from that time to this day, they could never Maſter that Potent Enemy. As to their Wars about Religion, that aroſe in the time of the Fathers of the Society, we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Leagues and Embaſſies of the Habeſsinians.

To the Portugueſes. Helena *ſent* Matthew *an* Armenian, *and whereforé. After a long ſtay in* India. *he Arrives in* Portugal, *Suſpected. From* Portugal, Odoardus Galvan *ſent Ambaſſador. To whom* Roderic Linæus *Succeeds.* Alvarez *his Prieſt. He after ſix years diſmiſ'd with* Tzagazaabus *to the Pope. Which Letters* Alvarez *carried to* Rome. *Read at* Bononia, *and with what effect. Upon receiving the* Portugueze *Succour, they do not refuſe the* Latin *Religion. Whence hopes of their Embracing the* Roman *Faith. Letters ſent to the Pope. An Ambaſſie appointed: without Effect. Commerce with the* Europeans *interrupted: nor admitted unleſs try'd by Matrimony. Embaſſies rare in* Habeſſinia, *unleſs to* Conſtantinople; *or to* Batavia. *Embaſſadors Forrainers. A League with the* Perſians.

AT what time the *Portugueſes*, making ſeveral Voyages into *India*, made War upon ſeveral Nations, their fame reach'd the *Abeſsinians* alſo; who glad that the Power of the *Saracens* was brought low, and that *Egypt* and their Patriarch of *Alexandria* was reſtor'd to freedom, were in hopes that the Paſſage to *Jeruſalem* would be open. At the ſame time alſo was *Peter Covillian* among the *Habeſsines*, who had given them more certain Relations concerning the *Portugueſes*. Therefore *Helena*, the Grandmother of *David*, and Governeſs of the Kingdom, as we have ſaid, ſent an Embaſſador into *Portugal*, one *Matthew* an *Armenian*, skilful in Foraign Affairs, and one that underſtood the Arabic Language, joyning with him a Young Nobleman of *Habeſsinia*. She was willing to employ a Forraigner, either becauſe ſhe could find none among her own People that were fit for ſuch an Employment; or that ſhe believ'd none of that Nation could get ſafely into *Portugal*, that Kingdom being hated by the Neighbouring Nations, by reaſon of the Pyracies of the *Saracens*. *Mattheus* was certainly in danger, and ſometimes detain'd a Priſoner among the *Arabians*, out of whoſe hands he us'd many devices to eſcape; and at length got ſafe to *Goa*, to *Albuquerquez*, Vice-Roy of *India*, together with his Colleague. By whom, tho he were nobly there entertain'd, yet he queſtion'd the ſending him into *Portugal*: Becauſe ſuch

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an Embaſſie ſeem'd no way Correſpondent to the Dignity and Grandeur of the famous *Presbyter John*. And therefore he reſolv'd firſt to expect the Kings Pleaſure. Thereupon *Matthew* being detain'd Three Years in *India*, at length in the Year 1513. he arriv'd in *Portugal*. The (z) Letters which he brought from *Helena*, being written with the *Ethiopic* plainneſs, without any bombaſt of gaudy Titles, ſeem'd to contain more than they that ſent them were able to perform. For they freely offer'd ſafe Conduct, and a Thouſand other neceſſary Conveniences for Ships, which was look'd upon as a piece of boaſting Vanity by the *Portugals*, who perhaps thought the Queen had ſpoken of the *Indian* Veſſels of thoſe Nations that lay upon the *Red Sea*. *Matthew* himſelf an ordinary Merchant, without any Magnificence of Train, was hardly thought worthy ſo high an Employment; and they were afraid of future ſhame for having acknowledg'd a falſe Embaſſadour. After many and long delays, at length they were ſatisfy'd; and in return, another Embaſſie was decreed to the *Habeſsines*, and *Odoardus Galvan* was ſent upon that Employment. He dying by the way, *Rodorick Limez* was ſent in his room, whoſe Prieſt was *Francis Alvarez*, who left behind him an Itinerary, written in the *Portugueze* Language in a plain and ordinary ſtyle, tho afterwards, for Curioſitie's ſake, tranſlated into ſeveral (a) Languages.

Six Years *Rodoric Limez* reſided in *Ethiopia*, before he was diſmiſs'd by the King, that he might be in a Capacity to make the ſame return of Kindneſs to the *Portugals*. At length he ſent him back, joyning with him *Tzagazaabus*, with Letters to the Pope and the King of *Portugal*, flouriſh'd at the beginning, with thoſe uſual Titles, which we have already recited. But what is to be admir'd at, *Tzagazaabus* arriv'd not at *Rome*, till the Year 1539, being detain'd at *Lisbon*. Certain other (b) Letters were alſo recommended to *Alvarez*,

(z) They are to be found after the Preface of *Alvarez*'s Itinerary, as alſo in the Treatiſe of *Damianus a Goez*, concerning the Great Emperour of the *Indians*, to *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, firſt printed at *Dordrecht*. But *Tellezius* forgot himſelf, when he writes, That *Matthew* brought *David*'s Epiſtle full of Titles: for that is to be attributed to *Alvarez* or *Tragazaabus*.

(a) By *Michael de Selves*, into *Spaniſh*; by others into *Italian* and *Dutch*: *Jovius* promis'd alſo to do it into *Latin*, but fail'd.

(b) Extant in *Alvarez*. *Damianus* a *Goez*. of the *Ethiopian* Cuſtomes. and Tom. 11. *Hiſpian*. Illuſtrat. *p*. 1250.

who

who carry'd them to *Bononia*, and made a long Diſcourſe of the Reſpect and Reverence which the Kings of *Habeſsinia* had to the See of *Rome*. They were read before *Clement* the Seventh, and the Emperour *Charles* the Firſt, with the general Applauſe of the Court of *Rome*; but with no Succeſs. For that *Claudius* the King plainly deny'd to ratifie either thoſe things, or what *John Bermudes* afterwards related at *Rome* to the ſame effect; as if never given in Command, nor ſo underſtood, but that the buſineſs of the Embaſſie, and conſequently the Letters themſelves had bin faign'd and contriv'd by the *Portugals*. However, the *Habeſsinians* being reduc'd to very great ſtreights, at the Interceſſion of *Bermudes*, had an aſſiſtance of Four hunder'd and fifty men granted, and ſent into *Habeſsinia* by the Command of *John* the Third. But *Peter Pays* poſitively writes, That this was done at the requeſt of the Queen of *Ethiopia*. And that *Stephen Gomez* who ſail'd into the *Red Sea* to burn the *Turkiſh* Ships, and by chance came to an Anchor before the Iland of *Matzua*, after he had conſulted his Councel of Warr, reſolv'd to ſend the ſaid Supply, as ſeeming to be for the honour of God and the King. Of which Conſultation there had certainly bin no need, if the King had Commanded the Supply before. However it were, that Succour was not onely very neceſſary, but very advantageous to the *Habeſsines*. From which time the *Habeſsines* were not onely gratefully, but honourably receiv'd among the *Habeſsines*: nor did they then refuſe the *Latin* Religion, but frequently went to the *Portugueze* Chappels, and admitted Them into Theirs. Moreover, they alſo gave Liberty to the *Habeſsinian* Women that were marry'd to the *Portugueſes*, to go to Maſs with their Husbands, and to partake of the ſame Ceremonies with them. So that during the Raign of *Claudius*, there was great Hopes both at *Rome* and at *Lisbon*, that the *Habeſsinians* might be perſwaded to embrace the *Romiſh* Religion. But that Hope proving vain, there was for ſome time a Ceſſation of Embaſſies, and the *Abeſsinian* Friendſhip with the *Luſitanians* was almoſt interrupted; untill by the Artifices of the Fathers of the Society, the Minds of the later Kings were ſomewhat more inclinably diſpos'd to give Obedience to the See of *Rome*.

Upon that, Letters were written to the Pope and the King of

of *Spain*, who was then alſo King of *Portugal*, and anſwers upon them, which gave an Occaſion to *Suſneus* to decree an Embaſſie into *Europe*. To that purpoſe (c) *Fecur-Egzie* was choſen, and with him *Antonie Fernandez* was joyn'd; who were commanded by unknown and by-ways to Travel *Southward*, till they reach'd *Melinda*, upon the Shore of the *Indian Ocean*, from whence the Paſſage was more Eaſie and Safe into *India*. Thereupon ſetting forth out of *Gojam*, they Travell'd through *Enarea*, from thence into the Kingdom of *Zendero*, and ſo to *Cambata*, the Laſt Kingdom under the *Habeſsine* Dominions. Thence Travelling into *Alaba*, they were forbid to go any farther, by the Governour of the Province, who was a *Mahumetan*. He apprehended the Embaſſador with his Train; and had not the Law of Nations bin of ſome force among the *Barbarians* (for they had about them to ſhew both their Letters and Preſents from the Emperour) they had bin put to death, with the Law in their own hands. Being by that means ſet at Liberty, after a Years and ſeven Months time ſpent in hard Travel, after many ſad Experiences of Savage Barbarity and a Thouſand Jeopardies, they return'd home without effecting any thing. Nor can any reaſon be certainly given, why thoſe unknown and dangerous Ways were choſen, thorough ſo many Barbarous Nations, ſo many Wild and Deſert Countries, when the Road lay ſo plain through the Kingdom of *Denoale* in Friendſhip with the *Abiſsines*, to the Port of *Baylur*, which the Patriarch of *Portugal* afterwards ſecurely made uſe of: as if ſo tedious a Journey had bin impos'd upon the Undertakers, not ſo much to go upon an Embaſſie, as for the Diſcovery of Forraign Countries, and By-Roads, for the Direction of Travellers.

After that, there happening a difference between them and the See of *Rome*, all manner of Commerce and Communication with the *Europeans* ceas'd: Inſomuch, that now they would with great reluctancy admit thoſe whom before they ſo highly admir'd, and with great difficulty would diſmiſs, out of their affection to Arts and Sciences; eſpecially, if they ſuſpected them to be Clergy-men, or under Religious Vows.

(c) Miſtakenly *Tecur-Egzy* in *Tellezius*, l. 2. c. 3.

For

For which reason they try'd them first, by offering a Wife to every Stranger.

Otherwise, they rarely send any Embassadors abroad, unless it be into *Egypt*, when they have need of the Metropolitan. For they are not onely ignorant of forraign Affairs and Languages, but of the Ways and Roads of other Countries. By reason of their Vicinity to the *Turks*, and thence their frequent Commerce one with another, sometimes they are forc'd to send Embassadors to *Constantinople*, as in the Year 1660. So in the Year 1661, one *Michael* was sent thither with the wonted Presents; a living *Tecora*; several Skins of dead ones; Pigmies and the like, as *Thevenot* writes. In the Year 1671, another Embassador was sent, with some of those painted Beasts, and Letters to the *Dutch* Governour of *Batavia*. But they who are sent, are generally Forrainers, *Maronites*, *Armenians*, or else *Arabians*. But as for what *Leonardus Rauchwolf* writes in his Itinerary, it is altogether vain and false: That *Presbyter John* having made a League with the *Persians*, sent a *Persian* Bishop with so many Priests, that in Two years time they converted Twenty Christian Cities to the Christian Religion. It seems to be an old and confus'd Relation, and to be understood of that same ancient *Asiatic Prester Chan*, Neighbouring at that time upon the *Persians*. But he ascribes this passage to the Emperour of the *Abessines*, and that it came to pass Twelve years before his coming. *Philip Nicolai* believ'd him, and inserted this Figment into his Book concerning the Raign of Christ, adding the Year 1562, at what time the Affairs of the *Habessines* were in their most afflicted Estate.

Chap. XVII.

Of the Vice-Roys, Presidents and Governors of Provinces.

The various Titles of Vice-Roys and Governors. Ded Azmat *the Common Title of Presidents. The cause and Original of this Variety; And of the Imperial Title.*

THE Vice-Roys, Presidents and Governours of Countries which the King appoints and layes aside at his pleasure, are not call'd by any common sort of Title: but according to the several Kingdoms which they govern, derive to themselves particular Appellations. Some there are who are honour'd with Royal Titles; as,

Negus Gan. King *of Gan,*
Enareja Negus, King of *Enarea.*

Others are thought worthy the ancient appellation of *Nagasi,* in the *Amharil* Dialect, *Nagash*; which word signifies a Ruler, Commander or Lord. And was formerly more especially attributed to the *Ethiopian* Kings by the *Arabians,* as has bin already said: as,

Bahr-Nagash, Ruler or Regent of the *Sea Coast.*
Gojam-Nagash, Regent of *Gojam.*
Walaka Nagash, Regent of *Walaka.*

The word *Ras,* put absolutely, or with the proper name of the person signifies the Chief Commander or General of an Army: but if the name of the Kingdom be added, it signifies the Governor thereof; the same with the *Germans, Hauptman* or *Lands-Hauptman*; as,

Angot Ras, Captain of *Angot.*
Bugna Ras, Captain of *Bugna.*

This Title *Tzagazaabus* assum'd, altho he were but a Monk, while he subscrib'd to the Confession of Faith by him set forth, as followes.

Bugna

Bugna Ras, Arch-Presbyter, *Tzagaza-ab*, Embassador from *Jan Beluli Hatze Lebna Denghel*.

Some suffice themselves with the Title of *Shum*, which is otherwise common to all the Governors of *Guraga* and *Cambata*.

Guraga-Shum, Governor of *Guraga*.
Cambata-Shum, Governor of *Cambata*.

whom at other times they call the King of the *Hadians*.

The Vice-Roy of *Tigra*, is call'd *Macuenen*, as *Tigre Macuenen*, President or Judge of *Tigra*.

The names of the rest are not to be expounded out of the *Ethiopic* Language; being perhaps words significative in the vulgar Dialects; as,

Amhara, }
Damota, } *Tzabfaldam*.
Shewa, }
Dembea Cantiba.
Bagender Azmat.
Gedma-Katen.
Ifata Walasma.
Fatagar Asgua.
Samen Aga-fari.

The Governor of *Diabai* is call'd *Ded-Asmat*, which is properly the common Title of all Presidents, and signifies the Captain of a Provincial Militia, or a Colonel. This diversity of Titles seems to arise from hence, for that the ancient Possessors of these Kingdoms, before they came to be reduc'd under the Power of the *Habesines*, assum'd those Titles of Dignity to themselves, which afterwards the Vulgar People gave to their several Governors in their distinct Idiomes. Or else the Governors themselves retain'd the ancient names; the Kings of *Ethiopia* conniving at it, as esteeming it for their Honour to have so many Persons of several Dignities at their devotion. For because the Governors and Vice-Roys of Provinces assum'd to themselves the Titles of *Negus*, and *Nagasi*, therefore the *Ethiopic* Kings took an occasion to give themselves the Title of *Negusa Nagast*, or *King of Kings*.

Chap. XVIII.

Of the Princes that are Tributary to the Kings of Ethiopia, *and of others ſubject to him, that claim abſolute Dominion in their own Territories.*

Tributary Princes never Forty, much leſs Sixty; Gregory *acknowledg'd but Four: appointed by the King for a time. That Dignity hereditatary to ſome few. The next equally Subject. The reaſon. All call'd Servants, even the Queen herſelf which ſeem'd very ſevere to the* Portugals. *The ſame Cuſtom among the* Raſſes. *The Kings Pavilion ſacred. The ſtrange behaviour of Suppliants: and various manners of ſupplicating. How the King carries himſelf toward Suppliants. The Ceremonies of Suppliants among the* Turks *and the* Indians. *The gentleneſs of the* European *Princes begets them love.*

THat the Kings of *Ethiopia* formerly had ſeveral Tributary Kings under them, we have already declar'd. (*f*) *Matthew* the *Armenian* reckn'd them up, tho untruly, to the number of Fifty, tho moſt erroneouſly. Nor did they write with more Truth, who tell us of Fifty or Forty; when as they have not ſo many *Vice-Roys*. *Gregory* knew but Four, that is ſo ſay, the Kings of *Sennar*, *Dancala*, *Garaga*, and *Enarea*. As for the *King* of *Semar*, he has often revolted and made Warr upon the *Abeſsines*. The *King* of *Dencala* is a firm Allie, but oblig'd to no ſort of Tribute. All the reſt, whether *Kings* or Governors, are by the *King* himſelf appointed to govern ſuch and ſuch *Kingdoms* and *Provinces*, and are only *pro tempore*. Some few there are, that claim a ſupreme Dignity by right of Inheritance. But all of Royal deſcent; and all other of the Nobility, who are reputed to derive their Pedigrees from the *Iſraelitiſh* Race, are equally ſubject to the *King*; without any diſtinction of Dukes, Earls, Marqueſſes and Barons, as (*g*) *Matthew* fabulouſly aſſerts. For the *Kings* of *Ethiopia*, as moſt of the Eaſtern *Kings*, deem it not a

(*f*) This *Dam. de Goez.* relates of him, in his Book, concerning the State and Kingdom of *Presbyter John*, n. 11.

(*g*) *Ibid.* n. 13. There are, ſaith he, in *Abaſſia*, Lords, Dukes, Earls and Barons innumerable. I would be willing to know how they are call'd in the *Ethiopic* Language.

decent

decent thing to command Illuſtrious Families. Not believing that Servitude can be expected from thoſe that are accuſtom'd to Command themſelves. Moreover, they preſume that Hereditary Dignity is an obſtruction to Vertue; that Men are more certainly made, than born great; and that they will prove more faithful, whom they have rais'd from the Duſt, then ſuch as claim their Fortunes from their Anceſtors. Therefore the *Kings* of *Ethiopia* accompt themſelves onely Lords; all others they look upon as Servants: in that particular not ſparing their Brothers or their Kindred. So that when they beſtow any Government upon them, they uſe this form, *We have created our Servant ſuch a one Governour of this, or that Province.* Nor do they ever diſcourſe them but in the ſingular number, *Thou*: whereas we generally make uſe in our Language of the ſecond perſon plural. No other Epithite do they afford their own Queens, tho of the higheſt Rank of Nobility. *We have caus'd to Raign*, that is, *We have taken to Wife our Servant ſuch a one.* Nor do they diſdain theſe Titles: but on the contrary call themſelves reciprocally *his Servants.* This word *Servant*, was very ill digeſted by a generous *Portugueſe*, as looking upon the title of *Slave*, to be a diſgrace to him that was a *Freeman.* And therefore he offer'd a good Summ of Money to him, that, according to Cuſtome, was to proclaim the Government conferr'd upon him, to leave out the word *Servant*, and onely to proclaim his bare name; but could not obtain it. Nor is the *Negus* of *Ethiopia* to be tax'd for this alone, ſeeing all the Princes of *Africa* and *Aſia* uſe the ſame Cuſtom. The ſame Sovereignty is claim'd and maintain'd by the *Ruſsian* Emperour; whoſe Grandees never call themſelves any other then *Golop*, his *Servants*; nor in their Letters which they write to him do they ſubſcribe their names any otherwiſe than in the (*b*) *Diminutive.* We are alſo to underſtand, That the word *Gabre*, or *Servant*, has a more diffuſive ſignification among Them than among Us. For it extends not to real Slaves alone, but their Subjects and Domeſticks. And indeed, to ſay truth, they differ but little from Slaves, who are bound to obſerve their

(*b*) As for Example; *Hanſellus*, *Stephanuel*, *Laurentioll*, thy Servant. *Olear.* his Itinerary.

King

King at all times with Body, having nothing at all of Property, to which they can lay the leaſt claim. Nor are the Ceremonies leſs ſervile by which they teſtifie their Submiſſion and Reverence to their *King*. The *Bah-tu-ded* himſelf the Chief of his Miniſters, as *Alvarez* relates it, ſtood before the *King*'s Pavillion, naked up to his Thighs, with his Head and his right hand almoſt touching the Earth, and a poor Linnen ſwath-band about his forehead, crying out thricc, *Abeto*, or *moſt merciful Lord*. Being ask'd according to Cuſtome, *Who he was*? he anſwer'd, *He was the meaneſt of the Court, that Saddl'd the Kings Carriage Horſes, ready prepar'd to obey all Commands*. When the Kings Meſſenger, whom they call *Kol Hatzè*, the King's Voice, declares the *King*'s Commands afoot, it behoves all that hear to be afoot. Neither is it lawful to ride up to the *King*'s Pavillion, no more than if it were to ſome Altar, but the perſon muſt always alight at a diſtance.

Suppliants having occaſion to make their Petitions to the *King*, ſtand in a certain place, and inſtead of Petitions which they know not how to write, betimes in the Morning with loud Voices and different Tones, whereby they may be ſeverally diſtinguiſh'd by their Countries, they wake the ſleeping King, beſeeching him to hear their complaints. They of *Amhara* and *Shewa*, and thoſe that uſe the ſame Dialect, redouble theſe following Exclamations as faſt as they can ſpeak, *Shan Hoi, Shan Hoi, My King, My King*. Some add *Belul Hoi, Shan Hoi, Belul Hoi*; *My Apple of my Eye, My King, My Apple of my Eye*.

Hence *Tzaga-za-abus* compos'd his ridiculous *Shan Belul*, (by others more corruptly *Beldigian*) *King Apple of my Eye*, much more ridiculouſly render'd (*i*) *High* or *Pretious John*.

The *Tigrenſes*, in their Supplications, cry out, *Hadurije, My Lord*.

The Inhabitants of *Dembea* and *Dara*, *Jegja*, or *Our Lord*.

Thoſe of *Gafata* and *Gojam*, *Abkawo, O Father of Orphans*.

The Mahometan implores his own *Ja Siddi*, or, *O my Lord*.

(*i*) In his Confeſſion of Faith above mention'd. *Tom.* 2. *Hiſpan.* Illuſtrat. p. 1311.

Thoſe

Thoſe of *Gonga* and *Enarea*, *Donzo*, *Lord*.

The *Luſitanians* in their own Language make uſe of their own *Senhor*, *Senhor*, *Senhor*, till they are heard. The *Barbarians*, the more ſavage they are, ſo much the more harſh and obſtreperous in their Tones. For the *Gallans*, like ſo many Wolves, howl out their *Hu*, *Hu*, *Hu*. Others bark like Doggs, or imitate the inarticulate noiſes of Wolves, Apes, and other Wild Beaſts, to the end they may be thereby the better diſtinguiſh'd. But the more Civiliz'd, and thoſe that belong to the Camp uſe no other exclamation, but that of their *Abeto*, *Abeto*, *Abeto*, or *Lord*, *Lord*, *Lord*: which Appellation of Honour is attributed not onely to the King, but to all thoſe whom we call (*k*) mild and merciful Lords. Others addreſſing themſelves for relief, make uſe of other expreſſions, by which they think the King may be moſt honour'd; ſaluting him by the name of *Sun*, or Lord of their Hearts. But the Monks, unleſs acceſs be permitted them, ſing a certain *Hymn*.

Theſe particular Tones of Suppliants are taken norice of; and as ſoon as day appears, ſuch and ſuch are commanded to be admitted, and heard: or if it be a buſineſs of moment, the King himſelf gives them audience and returns them their anſwer. And ſurely it is the chief Office of Kings to hear the Complaints of their Suppliants, and to adminiſter timely Juſtice to their Subjects. Of which the *Barbarian* Kings not being unmindful, gave opportunity to poor and miſerable people, to whom their Court was ſhut up from acceſs, to convey their Complaints to the Kings Ears. Among the *Turks*, the Suppliants always carry a lighted fire upon their heads before the Window of the *Sultan*. In the Bed-Chamber of the Great *Mogul*, there always hangs a Bell, which it is lawful for the Suppliant to ring, ſtanding at the farthermoſt end of the Palace, but he is taken into Cuſtody by the Guards; and if afterwards he do not make good his Accuſation, he loſes his Life for his preſumptuouſneſs. Our Princes after a more noble manner receive Petitions from the hands of their Suppliants, and thereby greatly win the love

(*k*) See the Relation of *Jerome Lupus*, Printed in *Engliſh*, Entitl'd a ſhort Relation of the River *Nile*. *p.* 40. ſee more in *Sandovall* de *Reſtaur. Ethiop.* Salut. 250.

of

of their Subjects. They who despise that sort of Clemency, or whip out at their back doors to avoid the sight or giving Ear to the miserable, do but onely procure Sadness to their People, and Hatred and Contempt to themselves.

Chap. XIX.

Of their Judiciary Proceedings and Punishments.

Their Judicial Proceedings very plain. Witnesses slightly and cursorily examin'd. Appeals rare. Their Punishments, Stoning, Drubbing, and Banishment. Homicides how punished. A Discourse of Like for Like.

THe manner of their Judicial Proceedings is very plain and ordinary. For all Controversies are determin'd by word of Mouth, without any noise of Process, without any Writs,or Writings,of which the most part of the Nation is ignorant. The Plaintiff has liberty to produce his Witnesses, which the Defendant may refuse, if he have any reason to suspect them But in regard of their ignorance of the true Proceedings by way of Interrogatory and proof, nor understand how to examin a Witness, it must of necessity follow, That Justice is but ill administer'd, where the Witnesses are so cursorily heard. It is lawful to appeal from Inferiour Sentences either to the King or the Court-Tribunals: but that is seldom done; by reason of the Poverty of the People, and the tediousness of Travelling: and partly out of the Little hopes they have of redress. For the Governours and Judges of Provinces are offended with Appeals, as seeming to them an accusation of Injustice; and therefore the wrong'd Parties fearing their displeasure, rather choose to lose their right, than the favour of the Judges. Neither does the resigning of Office afford any relief against an unjust Sentence. For either through Favour or for Money they obtain a Pardon for all things done amiss in their Magistracy.

Among the sorts of Punishments inflicted upon Offenders, besides *Beheading* and *Hanging*, the most ready at hand is *Stoning* to death: the Soyl affording sufficient materials for that sort of Execution. The next is *Drubbing*, if the Crime be not Capital.

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The punishment of the Nobility, is Exilement into the *Zanic* Lake, or into their high and steep Rocks, which are in a manner like Ilands; from whence however they frequently escape by reason that the People are easily corrupted by Bribery.

Homicides are deliver'd up to the next of (*l*) Kin to the Party murder'd, at whose free will it is, to pardon the Malefactors, sell them to forraign Merchants, or put them to what death they please. If the Homicide escape unknown, the Inhabitants of the place and all the Neighbourhood are oblig'd to pay a Fine; by which means many Murthers are either prevented or discover'd.

Most certainly the Law of *Like for Like*, was always and still is accompted the most just, and plainest among several Nations. Hence that of *Moses*, *An Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth.* But because there is not the same use of all members among men, some men according to their various Callings having more use of one Member than another; some being better able to lose their Hands than their Leggs: others their Leggs than their Hands: therefore among the Civiliz'd Nations this Law grew out of custome. And it seems unjust to surrender the Offender to the Malice and Fury of the Offended Party, when they may have unbyas's'd Judges, to give Sentence without Favour or Affection.

(*l*) A Custome still us'd in *Persia*, as you may read in *Tavernier* and *Olearius*.

The End of the Second Book.

OF THE

Eccleſiaſtical Affairs

OF THE

ABISSINES.

BOOK III.

Chap. I.

Of the ancient Religion of the Abiſſines, *and their Judaic Rites.*

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Abiſſines *corrupt: and why. The firſt Relation of* Matthew *the* Armenian *falſe*; Tzagazaabus's *Confeſſion as little to be credited. Thoſe of the Fathers, and* Tellezius *more certain. Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory commended. The Tradition of ſome concerning the Original of the Judaic Rites. Circumciſion us'd by many. How it differs from the Judaic. No piece of holy Worſhip among the* Habeſſines. *Females circumcis'd. Why the* Abiſſines *abſtain from Swines Fleſh. The Various Cuſtoms of Nations concerning Meats. The Sabboth obſerv'd in the Primitive Church; Different from the Lords Day, and how. Whether lawful to marry a Brothers Wife. They abſtain from the ſhrunck ſinew. What to be thought of* Candaces *Eunuch.* Menihelec's *Poſterity revolted from the true Religion.* Claudius *diſclaims the Judaic Religion.*

NOw we proceed to the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the *Habeſsinians*, then which there is not any other more corrupt. For whatever we find ſcatter'd in our Relations, were neither collected out of the Books which are publickly authentic in *Habeſsinia*, nor taken from the report of any perſons there skill'd in the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of that Country, but partly ill related through the Raſhneſs of the Writers themſelves; partly by the ſame perſons or others ill underſtood through their ignorance of the *Ethiopic* Language. The

The first Relation concerning the Religion of the *Habessines*, was set forth by *Damianus* a *Goez*, a noble *Lusitanian*, from the Report of *Matthew* the *Armenian*, First *Ethiopic* Embassador to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*; which Narrative of his (*a*) contains many things ambiguous, many other things altogether false. Insomuch that *Tzagazaabus*, the second *Habessinian* Embassador, plainly tax'd the Author of it, (*b*) for his ignorance. Tho he himself in the Confession of his Faith, which the same (*c*) *Goez* set forth, did not much excel him either for truth or probability, for which reason *Tellezius* not undeservedly reprehends him. Certainly *Gregory* was very much offended with him; And when he heard his following Doctrines,

1. *That Jesus Christ was the Son of the Father, and the beginning of himself: in the same manner that the Holy Ghost, was the Spirit of himself, and proceeded from the Father and the Son.*

2. *That he descended into Hell where was the Soul of* Adam, *and Christ himself, which Soul of* Adam *Christ received from the Virgin* Mary: and toward the latter end of the Book, *That Christ descended into Hell for the Soul of* Adam *and not for his own.*

3. *That the Souls of men piously deceas'd are not crucify'd in Purgatory upon the Sabaoth and Lords Day.*

4. *That by the Decree and Commandment of Queen* Maqueda *the Women were also to be Circumcis'd, as having a certain glandulous piece of Flesh, not unfit to receive the Impression and mark of Circumcision.*

I say, when *Tellezius* heard these things, and many other of the same mixture, in no small heat and Passion, he cry'd out, *That they were Fictions, Dreams, nay meer Lyes*: frequently repeating these words; *If he said this, he was a Beast of the Field.*

Yet out of these Books most of those Stories have flow'd, which our Writers have made public, concerning the Reli-

(*a*) In a little Treatise often quoted, *Of the Embassie of the Great Emperor of the* Indians.

(*b*) For thus he sayes in his Confession of Faith, *Matthew, in regard he was an* Armenian, *could not so perspicuously understand our affairs, especially those that related to our Faith. And therefore he reported many things to King* Emanuel, *which are not in use among Us. Which he did not out of desire to tell an untruth, because he was a good man, but because he knew little concerning our Religion.* But in my opinion, that good man *Matthew* spake many things, which he knew much better.

(*c*) Extant in the 2. Tom. of *Spain* illustrated, p. 1302.

gion of the *Abeſsines*. But the Fathers of the Society, having bin converſant ſo long in *Ethiopia*. and view'd the *Habeſsine* Books, after ſeveral Diſputations and Diſcourſes with them, have bin able to afford us more Truth, whoſe Acts and Writings being free for the peruſal of *Tellezius*, we ſhall cull the choiceſt of his accurate Relations, and what he has reported more ambiguous or more partially, out of his diſlike of the *Alexandrian* Religion, we ſhall correct out of their own Writings, or from the Diſcourſes of *Gregory* himſelf.

Certainly to Chriſtians, no Hiſtory can be more pleaſant than that of Eccleſiaſtical affairs; eſpecially if we look back to the Primitive Church. For whom would it not raviſh into a high admiration of the wonderful Providence of God as well in founding as preſerving his Church? when he ſhall conſider that it grew up, and increas'd, not by the Propagation of Arms or human Arts, but by the Oppreſſion of Heatheniſh perſecution. To whom can it be unpleaſing to conſider with a Pious Contemplation, the undaunted Courage of the Martyrs, the Conſtancy of her Doctors, the Sincerity of the Chriſtian People, the Purity of the Faith, the Strife of Good Works, the Patience of the Weak, the plainneſs of the Rites and Ceremonies? Which when they once began to be alter'd, with the reverence to the Church be it ſpoken, then alſo enter'd in Pride inſtead of Modeſty, Ambition inſtead of Charity, together with Faction and Contention. As if our leiſure and our Quiet were therefore granted us by Heaven to conſume that time in making Scrutinies into all the miſteries of Faith, and moving ſuch impertinent Queſtions, which ought to be ſpent in exerciſes of Charity and Piety.

But I return to the Religion of the *Habeſsines*, concerning the Original of which, there are various Opinions of ſundry Authors. They that admit the Tradition of the *Habeſsines* concerning Queen *Maqueda*, are of Opinion, that the *Abeſſines* had the true knowledge of God, ever ſince the Raign of King *Salomon*, and that their Judaic Rites, ſuch as *Circumciſion, abſtaining from meats forbidden, Obſervation of the Sabboth, Marriage of the Brothers Wife, and the like*, had their Original from thence. But in regard theſe things were commonly practis'd as well in other Nations, as among the Primitive Nations, who conform'd to the *Jews* in ſeveral things, It is not a thing to be eaſily affirm'd, that theſe were the footſteps of thoſe Ceremonies receiv'd ſo many Ages before from the

the *Jews*. For not onely the *Jews*, but ſeveral other Nations made uſe of Circumciſion, and ſtill ſo do to this day, tho not out of any knowledge of its Original, or any Conſideration of Divine Worſhip. The moſt (*d*) ancient Hiſtorians tells us, That the *Ægyptians* were the firſt that inſtituted that Ceremony, or elſe learnt it from the *Ethiopians*. From thence it came to be in uſe among the *Colchi*, *Phœnicians*, and *Syrians*. They of *Alnajah*, an *Ethiopian* Nation, circumciſe with ſharp Stones. And *Ephinanius* expreſly mentions the *Homerites*, from whence the *Habeſſinians* are deſcended, for the ſame Cuſtome. We omit the *Troglodytes*, *Nigrytes*, and other innumerable Nations, which either do not underſtand the cauſe of it, uſe it for (*e*) cleanlineſs; or elſe pretend it to be conducible (*f*) to generation; or that they have a longer *Preputium*, and therefore thought it convenient to have it cut away, as (*g*) *Thevenot* writes: for fear thoſe more pure *Muſulmen*, ſhould be polluted with their own Urine.

Neither did *Mahomet* recommend it to his *Arabians*, as learnt from the *Jews*; but left the Cuſtom as he found it; nor does he make any mention of it in all his Alcoran. Beſides, there is a great difference between the Circumciſion of the *Jews* and that of other Nations. For other Nations onely round the Skin with the Knife, but the *Jews* ſlit the Skin with their nailes, till the *Prepution* falls down, and leaves the *Nut* altogether bare; for unleſs there be *Perignah denudation*, they do not think the Circumciſion accompliſh'd. For ſo their Doctors teach, *Who circumciſes and does not lay bare, is as one that never circumcis'd.* So that if the Skin ſhould happen to grow together again, it muſt be again diſſected. Whence it is eaſier to underſtand what is meant by thoſe Places in Scripture which mention the (*h*) drawing over of his *Preputium*. For being cut off, it can never be reſtored by any Art, but being onely ſlit or torn, it may be ſowed together again. Whence

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(*d*) Herodot. in *Thalia*.

(*e*) τῆς καθαιότητος ἕνεκεν for cleanlineſs ſake. *idem*.

(*f*) *Philo Judæus* in his peculiar Chapter of Circumciſion, brings theſe and many more reaſons.

(*g*) In his Oriental Itinerary. *c.* 32. *p.* 1.

(*h*) If any one be Circumciſed, let him not draw over, *&c.*

it is easie to find that the *Habessines* do not use the same manner of Circumcising with the *Jews*. Neither is it performed with any signal Ceremony or Commmemoration. For it is done privately by some poor woman or other, without any Standers by, not so much as the Father himself. But the Confession of *Claudius* King of *Ethiopia*, takes away all doubt, who to clear himself and his people from all Suspition of Judaisme, says thus.

But as to the Custome of Circumcision, we do not Circumcise like the Jews, *For we understand the words of St.* Paul, *the Fountain of Wisdome, who saith,* It profits not to be Circumcis'd, *nor doth Circumcision avail: but rather the new Creation, which is Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And then to the* Corinthians *he sayes, again, who hath taken upon him Circumcision,* (i) *let him not keep his Preputium. All the Books of St.* Pauls *learning are among us, and tell us of Circumcision and the Preputium; but our Circumcision is done according to the custom of the Countrey, like incisions of the Face in* Ethiopia *and* Nubia, *and boaring the Ears among the* Indians.

This puts us in mind of the Circumcision of Females, of which *Gregory* was somewhat asham'd to discourse, and we should have more willingly omitted it, had not *Tzagazaabus* in his rude Confession of Faith, spoken of it as of a most remarkable Custom introduced by the command of Queen *Maqueda*; or had not *Paulus Jovius* himself, Bishop of *Como*, insisted in the same manner upon this unseemly Custome. This same Ceremony was not onely us'd by the *Habissines*, but also familiar among other people of *Africa* the (*k*) *Ægyptians*, and the *Arabians* themselves. For they cut away from the Female Infants something which they think to be an Indecency and Superfluity of Nature. The most impudent women that inhabit about the *Cape of good Hope*, still retain this Custome, and for a small matter, expose themselves to the Sea-men. *Jovius* calls it, *Carunniculam*, or a little *piece of Flesh*. *Golius*, an oblong Excrescence. The *Arabians* by a particular word called it *Bedhron* or *Bedhara*, beside which they have many other words to

(*i*) The Printed Copy varies from this, where the words are more obscure. *If any one goes in uncircumcised, let him not go forth.*

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the ſame purpoſe. Among their Women it is as great a piece of reproach, to revile a woman by ſaying to her, *O Bandaron*: that is, *O uncircumcis'd*, as to call a man *Arel*, or *uncircumcis'd* among the *Jews*. A ſtrange thing, that onely in *Africa* and ſome Parts of *Aſia*, the Women ſhould be noted for thoſe extuberancies: for the Jewiſh women in *Germany*, being acquainted by their reading with this Cuſtome, laugh at it, as admiring what it ſhould be that ſhould require ſuch an amputation.

Nevertheleſs this ſeems to have ſome reference to the forbidden uſe of Swines Fleſh, and other Meats not allow'd by the Moſaic Law, as the ſame King *Claudius* manifeſtly gives us to underſtand in his Confeſſion.

But as to what relates to the Eating of Swines Fleſh, we are not forbid it, out of regard to the obſervance of the Moſaic Law, as the Jews *were. For we do not abhor him that feeds upon it; nor do we force him that does not, to make it his diet, as our Father* Paul *writing to the* Romans *hath written. Who eats, let him not contemn him that eateth not, for the Lord accepts all. The Kingdom of Heaven conſiſts not in meat or drink. But it is not good for a man to eat to the ſcandal of another: And* Matthew *the Evangeliſt ſayes, Nothing can defile a man but that which goeth out of his mouth. For what ever goeth into the belly, and is retain'd in the ſtomach, that at length is caſt into the Draught. And thus he pronounces all meat clean. Now while he ſpoke thoſe words he deſtroy'd the whole ſtructure of the* Jews *Error, who were learned in the Books of the Moſaic Law.*

Moſt Nations have a particular Dyet, ſome by cuſtome, ſome through ſuperſtition.

Not to ſpeak of the *Mahumetans*, who abſtain not only from Swines fleſh, but from Wine, is not the cuſtom of the *Banians*, not much different from the ancient *Pythagoreans*, to be ſtrangely admir'd? who onely feed upon Herbs and Meats made of Milk, which we hardly believe ſufficient to ſuſtain Nature. Others there are that devour all ſorts of Creatures which the fleſh conſuming Beaſts themſelves refuſe, and otherwiſe nauſeous to the moſt part of Men. The Oriental *Tartars* feed upon Camels, Foxes and all ſorts of wild Beaſts. Some of our *Europeans* indulging their appetites, pleaſe their palats with a ſort of Dyet abominated by all other People, as Frogs, Cockles, and I know not what ſort of Inſects. *Gregory* had

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an utter averſion to Lobſters, Crabbs, Crayfiſh and Oyſters, which we accompt our chiefeſt Delicacies: and it turn'd his ſtomach to ſee Turkies, Hares, and ſeveral other Diſhes to which he was unaccuſtom'd, brought to our Tables. Being ask'd, why he abſtain'd from Swines fleſh? he retorted ſtill, and *why we from Horſe-fleſh?* And moſt certainly were we to banquet with the *Tartars*, there are but very few of us that would eaſily be induc'd to eat Horſe-fleſh with an Appetite, tho it be one of their principal junkets. Nay their Embaſſadors to our Princes deſire fat Horſes for their Kitchins.

However they abſtain from blood and things ſtrangl'd, not out of any obſervance of the *Moſaic* Law, but an Apoſtolic Decree always in force in the Eaſtern Church: which was alſo for many Ages obſerv'd in the Weſtern Church, and reviv'd in ſome Councils. They alſo rebuke us, for that we ſuffer'd that Decree to be laid aſide.

Nor do they allow the *Jews* Sabboth out of a reſpect to Judaiſm, or that they learnt it from ſome certain Nations that kept the Seventh day holy. But becauſe the ancient Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, who obſerv'd that day perhaps out of complacency to the *Jews*, being long retain'd in the Eaſt, was at length carry'd into *Ethiopia*. For thus we find it written in ſome *ancient Conſtitutions* which they call the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles.

Let the Servants labour five days, but let them keep the Holydays, the Sabboth, and the Lords Day in the Church for the ſake of Pious Inſtruction.

The Council of *Laodicea* decreed that the Goſpels with other parts of Scripture ſhould be read upon the Sabboth; when before the Paragraphs of the Law of *Moſes* were onely read upon the Sabboth, and the *Goſpels* upon the Sunday: the Texts of the old Law being thought moſt agreeable to the Old Sabboth, and the Texts of the New Teſtament, to the New Sabboth.

Socrates alſo farther teſtifies that the People us'd to aſſemble at Church upon the Sabboth and Lords Day.

And *Gregory Nyſſen*, whoſe Writings the *Ethiopians* have among them, ſaith,

With what Eyes doſt thou behold the Lords Day, who haſt defil'd the

the Sabboth? Know'ſt thou not that theſe two days are Twins, and that if thou injur'ſt the one, thou doſt injury to the other?

But *Claudius* makes ſo much difference between both days, that he prefers the Lords day before the Sabaoth.

But as to what pertains to our Celebration of the ancient Sabaoth, we do not celebrate it, as the Jews did, who Crucify'd Chriſt, ſaying, Let his blood be upon Us and our Children. *For thoſe Jews neither draw water, nor kindle fires, nor dreſs meat, nor bake bread; neither do they go from houſe to houſe. But we ſo celebrate it, that we adminiſter the Sacrament, and relieve the Poor and the Widow, as our Fathers the Apoſtles commanded Us. We Celebrate it as the Sabaoth of the firſt Holiday, which is a new day of which* David *ſaith,* This is the day which the Lord made, let us rejoyce and exult therein. *For upon that day our Lord Jeſus Chriſt roſe: and upon that day the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the Apoſtles in the Oratory of Sion. And in that day Chriſt was incarnated in the Womb of the Perpetual Virgin St.* Mary: *and upon that day he ſhall come again to reward the Juſt, and puniſh the Evil.*

Gregory alſo teſtify'd, That the *Habeſines* abſtain from no ſort of Labour upon the Sabaoth, but from the moſt ſervile ſorts of Labour. This Cuſtom continu'd long in the Church, till it was abrogated by degrees; for by the 22^d *Canon* of the ſaid *Council* of *Laodicea* the Chriſtians are forbid to work upon the Sabaoth. Nevertheleſs the Sacred Lectures were continu'd for a time, as appears by the Canon above mention'd, till at length thoſe were alſo left off; perhaps becauſe that the People having a licence to work, there were but few that repair'd to Church.

Moreover, according to the Cuſtom of the *Jews*, it is lawful in *Abeſsinia* to marry the Widow of the Brother deceas'd, as *Alvarez* teſtifies. Adding, That the *Habeſsinian* defend their ſo doing by the Laws of the Old Teſtament. But *Gregory* poſitively deny'd that it was lawful, but onely conniv'd at by the Magiſtrate. However, that ſuch Wives are alſo prohibited from coming to the Holy Communion, wherein *Alvarez* agrees with him. However it does not therefore follow, that this Cuſtom was tranſlated from the *Jews* to the *Habeſsines*, no more then if any one ſhould aſſert

that the Laws of Polygamie and Divorce were deriv'd from the *Jews*. And yet this is ſomewhat ſtrange, I muſt confeſs, that they abſtain from that Muſcle, which the *Hebrews* call *Ghid Hanneſheh*, or the *Sinew* mutilated: the *Ethiopians*, *Sereje Berum*, *the forbidden Nerve*: the *Amharies*, *Shalada*. Which very probably they might learn from the *Jews* in their own Country, of which Nation there are ſeveral Colonies in *Ethiopia*.

But as to what is reported concerning Queen *Candaces* Eunuch, we have already ſhew'd that ſhe was not Queen of *Habeſsinia*, but of the *Ethiopians* that inhabited the Iland of *Meroe*: and if the Eunuch were a *Jew*, it does not follow that his Lady the Queen ſhall be ſo too. Others there are who tell us. That *Menilehec*'s Succeſſors in a ſhort time return'd to the worſhip of Idols. Which if it be true, the aſſertion of the Continuation of the Jewiſh Religion till the time of the Apoſtles, will prove altogether vain: tho in *Europe* moſt certainly the *Habeſsines* were long ſuſpected of Judaiſme, and ſo are many to this day. Which King *Claudius* obſerving by his Diſputations with *Gonſalo Rodriguez*, and the Writings which he compos'd to refute the Errors of the *Habeſsines*, ſet forth a Confeſſion, of which we have already cited ſeveral parcels, as they related to our buſineſs. The chief Scope of which was, to remove that Suſpition of Judaiſm from himſelf, and his Subjects, which in my opinion he very effectually did.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Converſion of the Habeſsines *to the Chriſtian Faith.*

The Converſion of the Habeſſines *attributed to Queen* Candace's *Eunuch; but contrary to authentic Hiſtories.* Candace *no* Habeſſinian. *Other Traditions nothing better. Demonſtrated when, and by whom: To which the* Book *of* Axuma *agrees. The Reaſons of doubting and deciding:* Frumentius *how call'd. His Encomium.* Cedrenus *and* Nicephorus *refuted.*

IT is the Common Fame among the *Europeans*, That the Converſion of the *Habeſsines* to the Chriſtian Faith was begun by that *Ethiopic* Eunuch, *Acts* 8.27. And perhaps the *Habeſſines* themſelves, believing it to be for their Honour, were the authors of the Story: confiding in the Credit of the Book of *Axuma*, where, the ſame hiſtory is ſet down as in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and without any other Circumſtances: by which it may ſeem this ſtory had not its firſt original among them, but was tranſcrib'd. Neither was *Tzagazaabus* better inform'd, as appears by his Confeſſion of Faith. Nevertheleſs it ſeems very ſtrange, that King *David* ſhould either aſſert or give his aſſent to *Alvarez* aſſerting the ſame thing: whereas the Credit as well of the *Ethiopic* as *Greek* Hiſtory abſolutely tells us the contrary. Some endeavour a Reconciliation of this difference, as if the firſt dawnings of Chriſtianity, tho but very dark and obſcure, began at that time firſt to glimmer. But then this ſhould have bin demonſtrated by ſolid Reaſons relating not onely to the *Ethiopic* Nation in general, but to the *Habeſsinians* in particular. Whereas the Teſtimonies which we ſhall cite by and by do not ſpeak of the Converſion of thoſe that were half Chriſtians before, but either of the *Jews*, or *Heathens*. For we have already ſhew'd that *Candaces* was never Queen of the *Habeſsines*. Neither is her Proper Name *Lacaſa*, which we find in the Vulgar Catalogues to be found in *Tellezius*. For *Hhendaqe*, or *Hindaqe*, is a quite different word from *Candace*, from whence others caſting away the Aſpirate, derive the name *Judith*: others, as if they would correct the Error, have ſtrain'd it to *Judith*. Nor was the name of *Candace* ever known to the *Habeſsines*, tho familiar to the Inha-

bitants of *Meroe*. Others refer the Converſion of the *Habeſsines* not to *Candace's* Eunuch, but to the times of the Apoſtles, and particularly aſcribe it to St. *Bartholmew*: others to St. *Matthew*; or becauſe there is no ſuch thing to be found in his life, to St. *Matthias*. Of all which Fancies the *Habeſsines* knew nothing, who hearing ſuch Whimſeys from our Countreymen, not without reaſon anſwer'd, *That perhaps thoſe things were to be underſtood of the Lower* Ethiopia, *that lyes between* Abaſſia *and* Egypt. However we can never find out what the Succeſs of thoſe Apoſtles Preaching was: what Kings or People withſtood that Converſion: what Paſtors, what Ceremonies, what Books they made uſe of: what form of Diſcipline, or what was the Doctrine of that time. Concerning all which things, in regard there is ſo deep a ſilence, we cannot acknowledg any ſuch beginnings of the Chriſtian Religion in *Habeſsinia*.

However this is certain, That both the *Habeſsine*, *Grecian*, and *Latin* Writers, Eſpecially *Ruffinus* and his followers, agree with one conſent, That the Converſion of the *Ethiopian*, happen'd in the time of St. *Athanaſius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria* under *Conſtantine* the Great, about the Year of Chriſt 330. or not long after, and that in this manner. One *Meropius*, a Merchant of *Tyre*, (*Ruffinus* calls him a Philoſopher) intending for *India*, put into Harbour upon the Coaſt of *Ethiopia* in the Red Sea, which at that time was alſo call'd the *Indian* Sea. There dying, or, as *Ruffinus* will have it, ſlain by the *Barbarians*, he left two Young men, *Frumentius* and *Adeſius*, *Fremonatum* and *Sydracum*, the *Habeſsines* call them, who being taken and brought to the King, became highly favour'd and careſs'd by reaſon of their Ingenuity and Induſtry; and at length being made free of the Country, were preferr'd by the King to keep his Books and Papers. The King dying, they remain'd in the ſame Imployment under the Queen Regent, till the Young King came of age.

All this while they entertain'd the Chriſtian Merchants that Traffick'd into thoſe Parts, with all kindneſs, and did them all the good offices Imaginable, and made themſelves ſo remarkable for their Vertue and their Integrity among thoſe Nations, that the Chriſtian Religion was highly eſteem'd by all. Which foundation being laid, *Frumentius* took a Journey to St. *Athanaſius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and was by Him, for his great parts, and Conſtancy in the Faith,

created

created the first Bishop of *Ethiopia*. Thereupon returning into *Ethiopia*, he initiated the Inhabitants in the Christian Religion by Baptisme, then he ordain'd Presbyters and Deacons, built Churches, and so introduc'd the Christian Religion into *Ethiopia*. Agreeable to this, are those Relations which the *Ethiopians* have in their Book of *Axuma*, onely that there is this addition to the Story of the Conversion made by *Candace*, that these *Tyrian* Young men admir'd, that the *Ethiopians* should believe in Christ and adore the Holy Trinity, and that the Women wore Crosses upon their heads, seeing that the Gospel had bin preach'd among them by none of the Apostles. We wonder much more, that *Ethiopia* should be converted in the time of the Apostles, and yet have no Bishop, no Baptism, no Priests nor Deacons, and that all these things should be first settled in the time of St. *Athanasius*. Besides, no man can be easily perswaded that such a beginning should remain so long time without a farther progress, and that the *Ethiopians* themselves, or the Bishops of the Neighbouring Christians should be so neglectful as not to lend their helping hands to the advancement of such fair Beginnings, Especially at such a time, when the Christians over the whole *Roman* Empire, chiefly in *Egypt*, suffer'd a most dreadful Persecution under *Diocletian*. How came it to pass that they did not seek for refuge in this Kingdom out of the reach of their Enemies, where they were sure of Sanctuary and Protection from a Prince of their own Religion? Could all the Ecclesiastical Histories, and the Annals of the Patriarch of *Alexandria* have forgotten a Prince, the first in all the World that had receiv'd the light of the Gospel? Were there no Martyrs, whose memories the *Habessines* are so sollicitous to preserve? No War, no Seditions upon the change of Religion, but so great an Alteration without any noise? To assert a thing of so much moment, and yet to bring no Circumstances, no particular Events and Casualties, seems very discrepant from the Truth of History.

It is sufficient that the *Ethiopians* agree with us in the principal matters. For whether *Meropius* dy'd or were slain, whether *Frumentius* and *Edesius* were call'd *Fremonatus* and *Sydrac*, signifies little. Yet in that Place *Ruffinus* was strangely deceiv'd. For he seems with others to have meant *India* properly so call'd, when he neither knew the Bounds or Situation of it, where he sayes, That the Hithermost *India* adjoyns to

Ethiopia:

Ethiopia: Between which and *Parthia* he places the farthermoſt *India*. So that he makes the farthermoſt *India* neareſt to *Ethiopia*, and *Parthia* more remote. This was the reaſon that *Baronius* believ'd there were two *Frumentius*'s; and that one was a Preacher of the Goſpel at *Axuma*: whereas it was but one and the ſame perſon, that was Apoſtle and Biſhop of the *Habeſsines*, call them *Indians* or *Axumites*, which you pleaſe.

This reconciliation of differing Writers was not known till this time, nor does he undeſervedly give the honour of the diſcovery to the Jeſuites: and that then and not before the Chriſtian Religion was firſt introduc'd in *Form*, as he calls it; as being led by tradition alſo, that Chriſtianity had ſome kind of bloomings before in *Ethiopia*. But what it was, or to what growth it arriv'd, there is no man that can unfold. Neither does *Ruffinus* make mention of any Jewiſh Religion, or any other deformed Sect that preceded. On the contrary, to uſe his own rough expreſſion, he ſayes, *That this Land* (meaning *Abaſsia*) *was never broken up with the Plough-ſhare of perſonal Preaching*. In ſhort, *Gregory* affirm'd to me, that there was not any other Preaching of the Goſpel in *Habeſsinia*, then what was firſt begun by *Abba Salma*, in the time of St. *Athanaſius*, and in the Reigns of *Atzbeha*, and *Abreha*, Brethren. And this *Abba Salma* was *Frumentius*. He is celebrated among the Metropolitans of *Ethiopia*, in the *Ethiopic* Liturgie, as alſo by our *Ethiopic* Poet, as being the firſt that diſplay'd the light of the Goſpel in thoſe Parts; for which he gives him this Encomium.

Peace to the Voice of Gladneſs I pronounce,
The fair Renowned Salama, *for he at once*
Did open wide the Gate of Mercy and Grace:
And Ethiopia *ſhew'd the ſplendid Face*
Of Truth and Zeal by which we Chriſt adore,
Where onely Miſt and Darkneſs dwelt before.

Where we are to take notice of the words *Miſt* and *Darkneſs*, which the Poet would not have made uſe of, if, according to the Tradition aforeſaid, there had bin any knowledg of Chriſt in *Habeſsinia*, before that time.

Moreover the ſame Poet makes this addition upon the ſame ſubject.

Peace

Peace to thee Salama, *who didſt obey*
Divine Command, Hid Doctrine to diſplay;
That Doctrine which in Ethiopia *ſhone,*
Like the bright Morning Star, and which alone
To Ethiopia *firſt by Thee conveigh'd,*
Still makes the Grateful Ethiopian *Glad.*

Which Story of the firſt Converſion of *Ethiopia* being grounded upon a firm foundation, muſt of neceſſity overthrow what (z) *Cedrenus*, and after him (a) *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, a Hiſtorian of little credit, have deliver'd concerning the Converſion of the *Habiſsines*, as happening a long time after this. For they write, That *Adad, King of the Axumites*, (who are no other than our *Abeſsinians*) *about the Year of Chriſt* 542, *and the* 15*th Year of* Juſtinian's *Reign*, made a Vow, *That if he overcame the King of the* Homerites, *he would Embrace the Chriſtian Faith.* Whereupon ſucceeding in his Enterprize, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Juſtinian*, and deſir'd him *to ſend him certain of his Biſhops, who were the firſt that divulg'd the Doctrine of Chriſtianity in thoſe places.* But we have already ſhew'd, that the Kingdom of the *Homerites* was utterly ſubverted near Seventy Years before by *Caleb*, Emperour of the *Ethiopians*: afterwards it fell under the Dominion of the *Perſians*, the *Habeſſines* who were then Maſters of thoſe Territories, and the defenders of Chriſtianity, in vain contending with the *Perſian* Power, which not long after was alſo conſtrain'd to yield to the Victorious Arms of the *Saracens*. How then could it happen, that the King of the *Homerites* ſhould be overthrown by *Adad*? Neither is it likely that *Adad*, if there were any ſuch King, would ſend for Biſhops ſo far off, altogether ignorant of the Language and Cuſtoms of his Country, which he might have had at that time, much nearer at hand, either from *Alexandria* or *Jeruſalem*. Beſides that, if it had bin ſo done, *Juſtinian* would not have ſent *Jacobites*, but *Melchites*; and ſo the *Habeſsines* would have follow'd the Opinions of

(z) In the 15 year of *Juſtinian*. N. 14.

(a) Many famous men were deceiv'd by their Authority, as *Joſeph Scaliger*. in emendat tem. Calviſius in Op. Arron. *John Laet* in Comput. Hiſt. Univers. & Cherer. in Hiſt. Univers. in *Juſtinian*.

the

the *Melchites*, whereas they always were and ſtill are known to be *Jacobites*. Not to mention the (*b*) 36. *Nicene Canon*, in which the Seventh Seat of Dignity in the Council, is aſſign'd next after the Prelate of *Seleucia*, to the Prelate of *Ethiopia*. Which may certainly teach us, That our *Ethiopians*, at the time of that Council, were moſt certainly Chriſtians, and were under a Chriſtian Superintendent or Metropolitan. And therefore it is apparent that thoſe Hiſtorians were falſe in all their Circumſtances.

Chap. III.

Of the Increaſe of Chriſtianity in Habeſsinia; *the Original of their Monaſtical way of Living, and of their Saints.*

After Frumentius *many Monks. Some out of the* Roman *Empire, and ſome out of* Egypt. *Nine, more remarkable, nam'd. The firſt* Aragawi *Extoll'd by the Poet for deſtroying the Kingdom of* Arwè. *What that Kingdome was.* Pantaleontes *Cell, his Sepulchre and Encomium. The Encomium of* Likanus, *another of the Nine. Other Doctors and Martyrs. Portentous Miracles of their Saints. Their Auſterity.* Gabra Monfes-Kaddus, *the reſtorer of Monaſtical Living, which began in* Egypt *by the Inſtitution of* Anthony. *Imitated by ſeveral* Anchorites. *Their Spontaneous torments.* Anthonie's *Succeſſors. The Tradition of the Monaſtical Scheme.* Icegue *the Abbot——his Habitation.* Abba Euſtachius *famous for Miracles: He left Succeſſors, but no Inſtitutions.* Habeſſinia *full of Monks. Their Inſtitutions and Habits different from the* Greek *and* Latin. *They practice Husbandry, and bear Civil Offices.*

THe Converſion of *Ethiopia* being thus begun by *Frumentius*, many Pious men, partly call'd by him to his aſſiſtance, and partly of their own accord, repair'd thither to Him. We find in the Chronicle of *Axuma*, that in the Raign of King *Amiamid*, the Son of *Saladoba*, many Monks came from *Rome*, and grew very Numerous in the Country. But by the name of *Rome*, the *Ethiopians* mean the *Roman Em-*

(*b*) So in the Edition of *Turrian*, but the 84. in the Verſion of *Abrahamus Etchellenſis*. They are both in the *Arabic* and *Ethiopic* languages, and brought into *Europe* in the laſt Century.

pire.

pire. For in Imitation of the *Arabians* they call the (*c*) Greeks *Errum*, who at that time were moſt prevalent in the Eaſtern Parts. Nine of theſe Perſons were more Famous then the reſt, who ſeated themſelves in *Tygra*, and there erected their Chappels. It is moſt probable that they came out of the Neighbouring Parts of *Egypt*, which at that time was under the *Greek* or *Conſtantino* Politan Emperours; but their names were all chang'd by the *Habeſsinians*, except that of *Pantaleontes*, by whom they are number'd in this Order.

1. *Abba Aragawi.*
2. *Abba Pantaleon.*
3. *Abba Garima.*
4. *Abba Alef.*
5. *Abba Saham.*
6. *Abba Afe.*
7. *Abba Likanos.*
8. *Abba Adimata.*
9. *Abba Oz*, who is alſo call'd *Abba Guba.*

I find the moſt of them mention'd by my Poet, who highly applauds them for their ſingular Piety, and their extraordinary Miracles.

Of *Aragawi*, otherwiſe call'd *Michael*, he has this Encomium.

Peace be to Michael, Aragawi *nam'd,*
Wiſdom his Life, his Death true Prudence fam'd.
With him was God, the Holy Three in One.
To all thoſe Saints an everlaſting Crown,
Who by their Prayers true Concord did enjoy,
That they might Arwe's *Kingdom quite deſtroy.*

By *Arwè*, which ſignifies a Serpent, he either means in general the *Kingdom of Satan*, which was deſtroy'd by the propagation of Chriſtianity; or in particular the *Ethiopic* Gentiliſm. For, as we have already ſaid, the moſt ancient *Ethiopians* worſhip'd a Serpent, as their ſupream Deitie, to which the Poet ſeems to allude. There are to be ſeen to this day the Cells wherein thoſe holy Men ſequeſter'd themſelves, by the names of *Beta Pantaleon*, the Domicil of *St. Pantaleon*

(*c*) *Frequent in the* Saracen *Hiſtory of* Elmacin, *where by the Latin Language, of* Greek *is ſtill meant.*

in *Tigra*: where his Sepulcher alſo remains. Of whom the Poet thus,

Peace to Pantaleon's *Bones, who ſtudy'd here,*
In th'inner Cell, next to his Sepulcher.
Who by the aid of Heavens moſt pretious Word,
Speech to the dead miraculouſly reſtor'd.
Who by his Prayers, and his Soul-ſaving Voice,
Made the afflicted Widow ſoon rejoyce.
Her Sins were dead, but he unlock'd the grave,
And freed thoſe Souls which Death did late enſlave.

He alſo makes mention of the Nine Saints in his Hymn to *Likanos*.

Peace be to Likanos, *who of the Nine*
Makes one, who did their Lives to God reſign;
With laſting wreaths would they my Temples crown,
How ſhould I then ſet forth their high renown!
Like lighted Lamps his fingers burn'd in prayer,
His Hand was pierc'd, when he the Staff did bear.

Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral other great Doctors among them, who have highly merited for propagating the Chriſtian Religion; as alſo many Martyrs, frequently celebrated by the *Ethiopians* and *Coptices* in their Religious Panegyricks. But as to their Saints, they relate of them, ſeveral Miracles more than Extraordinary: as the *removing Mountains, appeaſing the rage of moſt Tempeſtuous Seas; raiſing the Dead; cauſing Water to ſpring from ſmitten Rocks, and walking over Rivers*, which are reported for common Miracles among them: ſo that if the Truth of the *Ethiopic* Church were to be grounded upon ſuch Wonders, there could be no purer Religion in the World. For tho we have a *St. Martin*, that gave a piece of his Cloak to one in neceſſity, they have among 'em a Saint, that parted with his whole Garment to relieve the diſtreſſed. There are among them not onely ſeveral Stories of perſons *that have walk'd upon the Aſp and the Baſilisk, and trampled upon the Dragon and the Lyon*, but alſo thoſe who have rode upon thoſe Beaſts, as upon Horſes and Mules. Never were the *Aſcetæ* more auſtere. There are ſome who have liv'd for whole days together upon three little Dates; others upon no more than one poor little dry Bisket.

But there is not one more renowned for Sanctity among them, then *Gabra-Menſes-Keddus*, or the *Servant of the Holy Ghoſt*, in honour of whom they keep a Holyday every month.

Next

Next to him is *Tecla-Haimanot*, or the *Plant of Faith*, who reſtor'd the Monaſtical way of Living, in *Ethiopia*, about the Year of Chriſt 600. Whom the *Ethiopic* Poet extolls in a moſt ſingular manner.

All hail to thy Navity, great Saint,
It was at firſt thy Mothers great Complaint,
That ſhe ſhould barren dye, till th'Angels Voice
Declar'd thy Birth, and made her Son rejoyce.
Then Tecla-Haimanot *Thou didſt appear*
Like to the Sun, that rules the Day and Year:
Thy Glory fill'd the Earth from end to end,
And to the Heavens thy Luſter did aſcend.

This Auſtere way of Living was firſt practiz'd in *Thebais*, a Deſert of *Egypt*, whither many Pious men had retir'd themſelves from the Perſecution of the Heathen, that through abſtinence and temperance they might be more intent upon the Duty of Prayer. Among the reſt, St. *Antonie*, as it were the Captain of the Hermites, preſcrib'd certain Lawes to be obſerv'd by the Profeſſors of this ſort of ſeverity: for which reaſon, next to *Paul*, he was look'd upon as its firſt Inſtitutor. The Affairs of the Church being ſettl'd, many *Anchorites*, in imitation of him, voluntarily choſe a ſolitary way of Living: for that reaſon call'd *Monachi*, *Monks*, or People that liv'd alone by themſelves. Some meerly out of a Pious and godly end; ſome out of an opinion of merit; ſome out of vainglory and a deſire of worldly fame; becauſe they found that auſterity of life, as being a thing hard to be undergone, was vulgarly much admir'd and highly applauded. Many alſo did not think it ſufficient to abſtain from lawful enjoyments, or to bridle and reſtrain the ordinary deſires of Nature, but voluntarily tormented themſelves with new invented Tortures, or macerated themſelves with hunger and famine. This Cuſtome ſpread it ſelf alſo into *Ethiopia*, where ſome without any advantage to themſelves or others, invented ſeveral ways of afflicting their own Carcaſſes: as for example, *To ſtand whole days together in cold water, to gird their Loyns with a heavy Chain, to feed onely upon Pot-herbs and Roots*, and that very ſparingly too. Nay, which is hardly to be credited, ſome there were, who would thruſt themſelves into the clefts

of Trees, and ſo as thoſe clos'd together again, ſuffer'd themſelves to be bury'd alive.

To *Antonie* ſucceeded *Macarius*, after whom liv'd St. *Pachom*, to whom in *Ethiopia* ſucceeded *Aragawi*, the firſt Abbot or Ruler over Monks among the *Abeſsinians*.

His Succeſſors were

Abba Chriſtos Bezana.
Abba Mesket Moa.
Abba Johanni,

Who left bequeath'd his *Aſqema*, that is, the *Badge of his Abbotſhip*, or his Monaſtical Habit to *Tecla-Haimanot*. For the Tradition is among them, That the Arch-Angel St. *Michael* brought that Habit to St. *Antonie*, for which reaſon it was afterwards deliver'd from Succeſſor to Succeſſor, as it were from one hand to another. The Greek word it ſelf is σχῆμα, *Schema*. *Alphonſus* the Patriarch compares it to a *Scapulary*. The Life of this Saint is extant in *Ethiopia*, written at large, and ſtufft with ſeveral Miracles, and render'd famous for ſeveral Apparitions and Pilgrimages. Mention is alſo made of him in the *Ethiopic* Church Regiſters after this manner.

Remember Lord the Soul of thy Servant our Father, Tecla-Haimanot, *and all his Companions.*

This *Tecla-Haimanot* gave new Rules and Precepts to his Monks, and order'd them to ſubmit themſelves to a Governour, who is call'd *Icegue*, and is always of higheſt authority and dignity next to the *Abuna*. He either Viſits his fellow Monks himſelf, or ſends ſome one in his ſtead to reform Errors and puniſh tranſgreſſions. Before the Kingdom of *Shewa* was won by the *Gallans*, he had his habitation in a place call'd *Debra Libanos*, or the *Mountain of Libanus*, which was afterwards tranſlated into *Bagemdra*. And hence it is, that *Teſfa-tzejon*, who ſet forth the *Ethiopic* New Teſtament, in the Epilogue to St. *Matthew*, thus ſpeaks of himſelf and his fellow Monks.

We are all the Sons of our Father Tecla Haimanot, *of the Monaſtery of Mount* Libanus.

The

The other Abbot or Governour of the Monks call'd *Eustathius*, is no less famous than he, nor is his Memory less esteem'd in their Sacred Registers, while they cry,

Remember, Lord, our Father Eustathius, *with all his Children.*

Of him the *Ethiopic* Poet thus sings:

Hail to thy pretious Mantle, once the Boate,
Which with thy Burden on the Sea did floate;
Thy Pilgrimage a mighty Wonder shew'd,
Th'Obedient Ocean smooth and smiling flow'd
And Rocks remov'd, abandon'd ancient Rest,
To give free Passage where thy footsteps prest.

He also prescrib'd Laws to his followers, but impos'd no Governour upon them, neither are they very solicitous about that neglect; pretending, *That* Eustathius *went into* Armenia, *having nam'd no Successor; and that therefore it is not lawful for them to appoint any one.* Every Abbot therefore is Supreme in his own Monastery; and if any one dye, another is chosen by the Suffrages of the rest of the Monks. *Habessinia* is full of these sort of people, to the great burthen of the Commonwealth, to which they are no way profitable; as being useless in the Field, and free from Tribute. However their Rules and Orders are very much different both from the *Greeks* and *Latins*. For excepting their *Shcemas* and Crosses which they carry, you can hardly distinguish them from the Laitie: in regard they neither wear any *Coat* or Monastical Habit. Nor do they live in Monasteries, but in some Village in scatter'd Cottages near to some Church or Temple. They have certain Prayers of which they say such a number, believing their Piety fully satisfy'd if they finish their Task; which that they may make the more hast to accomplish, they huddle over the Psalms of *David* with such a dextrous celerity, that I who have heard 'em at *Rome*, holding the same Copy in my hand, could never follow them with my voice, and hardly with my eyes. Every one manures his own Ground, and lives upon the product of his Labours, of which they are also very liberal. Otherwise they go and come, every one without controul, as they please themselves. So that by no means

their

their Farms can be call'd Cloyſters, nor they be ſaid to be really Monks, but onely unmarried Husbandmen, and that onely while they preſerve their Continency intire. However they are branded with infamy, if they forſake their Monaſtical way of living to marry Wives. Nor are their Children capable of being admitted into the Clergy; and it is taken for an affront to call any man the Son of a Monk. Nevertheleſs they bear Civil Offices, and are ſometimes made Governors of Provinces, as is apparent by the Example of *Tzagazaabus*; who was a Monk, as appears from *Alvarez*'s Itinerary. Of ſuch as theſe the Queſtion may be ask'd with St. *Jerome*, *If thou deſireſt to be accompted a Monk, what doeſt thou do in the Cities, what in the Camp, or why doſt thou undertake Civil Employments?* They could not chooſe but highly diſpleaſe the Fathers of the Society; which is the reaſon, that they have always ſpoken of them with contempt: on the other ſide, the Monks have bin the main Obſtacles of the Fathers Succeſſes; for which Reaſon, *Tellezius* calls them Perſecutors of the Catholic Faith. Their Monaſteries (if we may ſo call their Villages) are very numerous and diſpierc'd over all Parts of the Kingdom: and commonly go by the name of *Daber*, a Mountain; in the plural number *Adebaruti*, Mountains: as, *Dabra Bizen*, *Dabra Hallelujah*, *Dabra Damo*, *Albamata*, and the like, as being formerly built upon ſteep Hills: Beſide which, they poſſeſs all the Ilands in the *Tzanic Lake*, except *Deka*.

An Addition to the Third Chapter, concerning their Nuns.

THat there are alſo Nuns in *Ethiopia*, I gather from *Tellezius*. But they are very ignorant, and therefore the more obſtinate in their devotion. For proof of which, the ſame *Tellezius* produces a very remarkable Story of one, who by chance becoming blind, was admoniſh'd by one of the *Fathers*, to make Confeſſion, and embrace the *Latin* Religion, unleſs ſhe intended to go headlong to Hell. To which the Nun made anſwer, *That ſhe was willing to go thither of her own accord, for that ſhe found there was no Room for her in Heaven, as being a perſon with whom God was diſpleas'd, and had therefore depriv'd her of her ſight, without any cauſe of offence by her committed.*

Upon

Upon which the Father preſs'd her the more urgently, in hopes to deliver her from that more dangerous blindneſs of her Mind. But finding her to continue obſtinate after all his pains. *Since then*, ſaid he, *thou refuſeſt Heav'n, get thee to Hell with all the Devils, with* Dathan *and* Abiram. *But I would not have thee take thy Religious Habit along with thee, which is onely proper for thoſe that deſire the Joyes of Heaven.* And ſo ſaying, he preſently order'd her to put off her Nuns Veſtments, and to put on a ſordid Vulgar Habit; which wrought in her ſuch a ſadneſs and contrition, that ſhe ſoon after made her confeſſion, and reconcil'd her ſelf to the Church of *Rome*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Sacred Books of the Habeſsines.

The Ethiopians, *together with the Chriſtian Religion, receiv'd the Holy Scripture, according to the Verſion of the 70 Interpreters——the New Teſtament from an Imperfect Copy and ill Printed. The Old Teſtament divided into four parts: The New Teſtament into as many- The* Revelation *added as an Appendix. To the New Teſtament are added the Conſtitutions and Canons of the Apoſtles, as they call them, divided into Eight parts: Therefore they reckon ſeveral Sacred Books. Three Oecumenical Councils. A fair Manuſcript of the Councils at* Rome. *Books therein contain'd. A Counterfeit Book of* Enoch. *Magical Prayers. Wherein Monſtrous words ſeeming to be taken from the* Jews. *The Form of the* Jewiſh *Anathematizing.*

Divine Worſhip is ſeldom found among any ſort of Nations in the World to be without Books, by which we apprehend from whence every particular kind of worſhip derives it ſelf, and by what means it got footing among the People: for the words and the worſhip generally go together. Which is the reaſon there are ſo many Hebrew and Greek words in all the Verſions of the Bible, and that we have ſo many Latin words in our Theologie.

The *Habeſsines* together with the Chriſtian Religion receiv'd the holy Scripture. And this Scripture was tranſlated into that Idiom of the *Ethiopic* Language, which was at that time more peculiar to the Inhabitants of *Tigra*, from the Greek Verſion of the Seventy Interpreters, according to a certain Copy us'd in the Church of *Alexandria*; which the innumerable

numerable various Readings, that are inſerted into the *Engliſh Polyglotton* Bibles, from one of the ſame Copies, plainly demonſtrate, with which the *Ethiopic* Tranſlation perfectly agrees, Eſpecially in the 35 & 39 Chapter of *Exodus*, which in other Copies are wonderfully mutilated. Nor is it without reaſon that a Colonie, as it were, of the *Alexandrian* Church, ſhould follow the Sacred Copies of their *Metropolis*. As for the Author and Time of the Tranſlation, I find nothing certainly deliver'd concerning either: however it is moſt probable that it was begun at the time when the *Habeſſines* were (*f*) converted, or a very ſhort time after, and not in the time of the Apoſtles, as ſome have reported; and brought to perfection by ſeveral; becauſe the more rare and difficult words, ſuch as are the names of Gemms, are not all alike in all the Books. For example, the *Topaz* in the 118 *Pſalm*, 127 *Verſe*, is call'd *Pazjon*, in *Job* 28. 19. *Tankar*, in *Revelations* the 21. 20. *Warauri*: and ſo in many other words the ſame difference is obſerv'd.

But for the *New Teſtament*, they have it Tranſlated from the Authentic Greek Text, tho as yet it has not bin brought into *Europe* pure and intire. For the *Roman* Edition is printed from a lame imperfect Copy, ſo that I was forc'd to fill up the Gapps which *Teſfa-Tzejon* had left, from the *Greek* and *Latin* Exemplars. This was obſerv'd by ſome Learned Men, but not underſtanding the Cauſe, it made them think that the *Ethiopic* Verſion had bin drawn from the Vulgar Latin. Perhaps they did not underſtand theſe following *Ethiopic* Lines.

Theſe Acts of the Apoſtles, for the moſt part, were tranſlated at Rome *out of the Latin, and Greek, for want of the* Ethiopic *Original. For what we have added or omitted, we begg your pardon, and requeſt of You to mend what is amiſs.*

More then this, the Publiſher of the Book beggs pardon, and excuſes the defect of the Edition, in regard of the ignorant Aſſiſtants which he had to help him.

Fathers and Brethren, be pleas'd not to interpret amiſs the faults

(*f*) There is one who has written a certain *Ethiopic* Martyrologie, who aſſerts, That *Frumentius*, otherwiſe *Abba-Salama*, was the Author of the firſt Tranſlation; but before I ſee it, I will not undertake to affirm it.

of

of this Edition; for they who Compos'd it could not read; and for our ſelves we know not how to compoſe. So then we help'd them, and they aſsiſted us, as the blind leads the blind; and therefore we deſire you to pardon us and them.

This Excuſe he alſo repeats in other places, as being conſcious of its being defective in ſeveral other places. Nevertheleſs the ſame Edition was afterwards printed in *England*, as an addition to that famous *Poly Glotton*; of which there is no other reaſon to be given, but that there was no other to be procur'd.

However they enjoy the holy Scripture entire, and reck'n as many Books as we do, tho they divide them after another manner. For they diſtinguiſh the Old Teſtament, which contains 46 Books into four Principal parts; to which they joyn certain other Books of a different Argument, conſulting more, perhaps, the Convenience of the Volumes, then the Dignity of the Matter. They alſo mix the *Apocryphal* with the Canonical, whether out of Careleſneſs or Ignorance is uncertain. And as for *Gregory*, he plainly confeſs'd he had never heard of any ſuch word as *Apocrypha*.

The firſt Tome is call'd *Oreth*, or the *Law*, and the *Octateuch*; for it contains Eight Books, which are call'd

1. *Zaſteret*, or the Creation, call'd alſo by another name *Kadami Aret*, or the Firſt Book of the Law, or *Zaledate*, or the Generation or *Geneſis*.
2. *Zatzat*, Exodus.
3. *Zalewawejan*, of the Levites.
4. *Zahuelekue*, or *Numbers*.
5. *Zadabetra*, of the Tabernacle.
6. *Ejaſhu. Joſhua.*
7. *Maſafenet*, of the Dukes.
8. *Rute*. Ruth.

The Other Tome is call'd *Nagaſte*, or *Kings*, and is divided into Thirteen Books.

9,10. 1 *Samuel*, or *Samuel* 2. } Which nevertheleſs they call
11,12. *Ebrewejen*, of the *Hebrews*. II. } after the manner of the *Greeks*; the 1.2.3.4. of *Kings*.
13,14. *Hatzutzan*. Of the Leſſer, or Inferior. II. Thus they ſeem to underſtand the Greek word *Paralipopomena*.

15,16. *Ezra*, or *Ezra* II.
17. *Tobed*, Tobia.
18. *Judic.* Judith.
19. *Eſter.* Eſter.
20. *Jjob.* Job.
21. *Maſmare.* Of the *Pſalmes.*

The Third Tome is call'd *Salomon*, and contains Five Books.

22. *Maſte*, the *Proverbs.*
23. *Maqebeb.* The Sermon. Properly a Circle, or an Aſſembly of Men Aſſembled together in a Ring.
24. *Mahaleja, Mahuleje*, the Song of Songs.
25. *Tobeb*, the Book of Wiſdom.
26. *Sirach.* Sirach.

The Fourth Tome is call'd *Nabijat*, or the Prophets, and contains Eighteen Books.

27. *Esjajas*, Iſaiah.
28, 29. *Eremjas. Tanbitu, Wakkakibu.* The Propheſie of *Jeremie* and his Lamentations.
30. *Baruch.*
31. *Ezechiel.*
32. *Daniel.*

The next that follow, as among us, are *Neſan Nabjat*, or the Minor Prophets.

33. *Hoſeas.*
34. *Joel.*
35. *Amos.*
36. *Obadijah.*
37. *Jonas.*
38. *Michejas* or *Micah.*
39. *Nahum.*
40. *Habacuc.*
41. *Sophonijas.*
42. *Hag.* or *Hagjah.*
43. *Zacharias.*
44. *Malaqijas.*

To theſe they add,

45. *Maqabejan*, the two Books of *Maccabees.*

Of all which there are at *Rome* in Manuſcript, the

1. *Pentateuch.*
2. *Joſhuah.*
3. *Judges.*
4. *Ruth.*
5. Four Books of *Kings.*
6. *Iſaiah.*

In Print are Extant

1. The four firſt Chapters of *Geneſis.*
2. The Book of *Ruth.*
3. The *Pſalter.*

4. The

4. The *Song of Songs.*
5. *Joel.*
6. *Jonas.*
7. *Sophoniah.*
8. *Malachi.*

With the Hymns of the *Old Teſtament.*

The *New Teſtament* contains Four and twenty Books, and is alſo divided into Four parts, of which the firſt is call'd *Wenghel*, or the *Evangel*, comprehending the Four Evangeliſts.

1. *Matthew*,
2. *Mark*,
3. *Luke*, and
4. *John.*

The ſecond the *Gober*, or the *Acts*, viz. *of the Apoſtles:*

The third call'd *Paulus*, comprehends the 14 Epiſtles of St. *Paul.*

6. To the *Romans.*
7. To the *Corinthians*, II.
8. To the *Galathians.*
10. To the *Epheſians.*
11. To the *Philippians.*
12. To the *Coloſſians.*
13, 14. To the *Theſſalonians.*
15, 16. To *Timothy.* II.
17. To *Titus.*
18. To *Philemon.*
19. To the *Hebrews.*

The fourth *Hakreja* or the Apoſtle, containing the Seven Books of

20. St. *James.*
21, 22. St. *Peter* II.
23, 24, 25. St. *John*, III.
26. St. *Jude.*

To which they add as a Supplement, the *Viſion of John*, ſirnam'd *Abukalamſis*: A word corrupted out of the Greek *Apocalypſis*, which they ignorantly took for the Sirname of St. *John*, as compounded of the Arabic word *Abu* & *Kalamſis.* Here we are to obſerve, that in the written Eaſtern Copies, the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* are found ſingle by themſelves; and this is the reaſon that in the *Roman* Copy of the *Ethiopic New Teſtament*, they were Printed apart, and not in the Order by us obſerv'd.

To the *New Teſtament* they generally annex a Volume, which they call, according to the Greek word, *Synodum*, or the *Book of Synods.* It contains thoſe moſt ancient Conſtitutions, which are call'd the *Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles*: in their Language *Tazazate*, *Precepts*, or *Canons*, being an Explana-

tion of the Primitive Rites and Ceremonies, written by the Induſtry of St. *Clement*, but they are very much different from thoſe that are diſpers'd among Us under the name of the Apoſtles. Theſe the *Habeſsines* divide into eight parts, adding withall to the Canonical Writings of the Evangeliſts, and Apoſtles, as it were certain *Novels*, as if they were of the ſame Authority, and the moſt abſolute Pandects of Chriſtianity. Hence it was, that King *David* ſaid to *Alvareſius*, That he had Fourſcore and one Books of Sacred Scripture; that is to ſay, Six and forty of Old Teſtament (reck'ning the *Lamentations* by themſelves), and Thirty five of the New Teſtament, adding to the *Twenty ſeven*, thoſe Eight Books of Conſtitutions and Canons, which the Ethiopians call *Manda* & *Abtelis*, the Signification of which were unknown to *Gregory*, as being words altogether Exotic. This was alſo the reaſon why *Tefa-Tzejon* has this Expreſſion in the Title of the New Teſtament, *I have caus'd a New Copy to be Printed, but without a Synod*, becauſe he did not Print together with the ſaid Copy, thoſe Canons and Inſtitutions before ſpecify'd. Next to this Book which is alſo call'd *Hadas*, or abſolutely *New*, the chiefeſt Reverence is given to the three Oecumenic Councils, the *Nicene*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, and *Epheſine*, with ſome other Provincial Councils, which were receiv'd in the Church till the *Schiſm* of *Chalcedon*. But we are to underſtand, that beſide the Twenty *Nicene* Canons, always receiv'd by the Greek and Latin Church, they alſo admit of Eighty four other Canons, which are extant among the Copies in the Arabic Language. And theſe in the foregoing Century, *Baptiſta* the Jeſuit Tranſcrib'd and brought to *Rome*, where they were Tranſlated into Latin. They were all formerly fairly written in Parchment, and by *Zer-a-Jacob* or *Conſtantine*, Emperor of the *Habaſſines* in the year 440. ſent to *Jeruſalem*, and thence brought to *Rome* in the year 1646. where I ſaw it in the *Habeſſine* Houſe, in the year 1649. It contains the following Books:

The Synod of the Holy Apoſtles for the Ordering of the Church of Chriſt, together with all the Precepts Decrees and Canons, which Clement *the Diſciple of* Peter *wrote.*

The Firſt Synod is that of the Council of Ancyra.

The Second Synod is that of the Council of Cæſarea.

The Third the Council of Nice.

The

The Fourth of Gangra.
The Fifth of Antiochia.
The Sixth of Laodicea.
The Seventh of Sardis.

Afterwards follow the Acts of 318 Orthodox Holy Fathers. Then a Treatise of the Sabboth Compos'd by *Retua-Haimanor*. Next a Declaration of the Doctrine of the Law, by Constitutions and Exhortations. Lastly, a Decree and Canon of Penitence. The Book was written at *Axuma*, with a Preface of the Kings written, dated from *Shewa*.

Adjoyning to this Book are the Liturgy, or the Publick Prayers for the Use of the whole Ethiopic Church. They call it *Kanono Kedasi*, the Canon of the Eucharist, as being the Rule of *Administration*, and of all the other Liturgies; They are Printed in the Roman Copy of the New Testament, before the Epistles of St. *Paul*, but intermixed with Foreign Insertions. For there we find it written concerning the Holy Ghost, *who proceeds from the Father and the Son*; which latter proceeding neither the Greeks nor Ethiopians admit.

Besides this General Liturgy, they have several other Liturgies, which are appropriated for several Holydaies.

Kedasi Za-gezen, the Liturgy of our Lord.
Kedasi Za-Ghezeten, the Liturgy of our Lady.
Kedasi Za-Warjat, the Liturgy of the Apostles.
Kedasi Zawedus Martium, the Liturgy of St. *Mark*.

Which Inscriptions have deceiv'd some Learned Men, who have branded them with the Characters either of *Apocryphal* or *false Titl'd*, for that they were not call'd so by the Composers of them, both the Text it self, and the Name of the Author sometimes added to the Title, demonstratively evince; as for Example.

The Liturgy of our Lady Mary, *which Abba* Cyriacus, *Metropolitan of the Province of* Behens *compos'd.*

Of this Nature, they have also sundry other Manuscript Liturgies, which the Ethiopians call *Equtet Korban*, or the *Thanksgiving of Oblation*: It being their Custom to use Eucharistical Prayers and Homilies in the Administration of the Sacrament.

But

But their Symbolic Book, or Compendium of the whole *Habeſsine*, Religion, is call'd *Hajma Monoto-Abaw*, *The Faith or Religion of the Fathers*; of which *Tellez* writes, That it is a Book among them, almoſt of great Authority and Credit, as being as it were a Library of the Fathers: it being Collected out of the Homilies of St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Baſil*, St. *Cyril*, St. *John Chryſoſtom*, and St. *Cyril*, as alſo *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, and the St. *Gregories*, of which there are Four whom they acknowledge and highly eſteem.

Gregory of *Neo-Ceſarea*, the Wonder-worker.
Gregory Nazianzene.
Gregory Nyſſene, and
Gregory the *Armenian.*

Tellez adds St. *Auſtin*; but of that I very much doubt the Truth, the Writings and Names of the Latin Fathers, being utterly unknown to the *Abeſsines*. And indeed had that Book been Compos'd out of the Writings of the Fathers abovemention'd, it might have been eaſily admitted by the Jeſuits as an equal Judge between both Parties in their Diſputes concerning the two Natures in Chriſt. They have beſides theſe ſeveral other Books that treat upon Sacred Subjects, as Books of Martyrs, and Lives of Saints, which are call'd *Synakſar* in the Ethiopic Idiom; Among the reſt,

The Hiſtory of the Fathers.
The Combats or Wreſtlings of Martyrs.
The Hiſtory of the Jews.
The Conſtitutions of the Chriſtian Church.
A Book of Myſteries, which Treats of Hereſies, written by St. *George.*
A Book of Epiphanius *upon the ſame Argument.*
The Spiritual Old Man.
The Harp of Praiſe, in honour of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary.
Padab Tzahje, The Splendor of the Sun, which Treats of the Law of God.
Wedaſi Ambatzi, The Praiſe of God.
Matzehfe felſit bagzeten Marjam, The Book of the Death of our Lady *Mary.*

In whoſe Praiſe and Honours there are ſeveral Hymns and Verſes, among which, the moſt extoll'd is that which

is

is call'd *Organon Denghel*, *The Virgins Muſical Inſtrument*, Compoſed by *Abba George*, an *Abaſsine* Doctor, a Book not very ancient, but in high eſteem by reaſon of the great number of Similitudes and Allegories; as alſo for the Elegancy of the ſtile and words. But as to what *Egidius* the Capuchin writes to the famous *Petreskius*, concerning the Propheſie of *Enoch*, as if ſuch a thing were extant in the Ethiopic Language, in a Book call'd *Matzhe Henoch*, the Book of *Enoch*, the Story is altogether fabulous. So ſoon as that noble Gentleman heard of this Book, he ſpar'd for no Coſt to get it into his hands; till at length the Knavery of thoſe he employ'd, impos'd upon him another Book with a falſe Title. The Book was afterwards lodg'd in Cardinal *Mazarine's* Library, and the Preface, Middle and End being Tranſcrib'd by a Friend of mine, was preſented to me, but there was nothing in it either of *Enoch* or his Predictions; only ſome few Notions there were, and ſome very clear diſcourſes of the Myſteries of Heaven and Earth, and the Holy Trinity, under the Name of one *Abba-Bahaila-Michael*.

There is another little idle and impertinent Pamphlet, hardly worth taking notice of, were it not ſo frequently currant in *Europe*, *Gregory* call'd it *Tzalot Betzet*, or a *Magical Prayer*, and averr'd, That it was not only not eſteem'd, but rejected in *Ethiopia*; tho by us charily hoarded up in ſeveral Libraries. It is writ with ſo much ſtupidity, that you ſhall find therein many Prayers of the Virgin *Mary* to her Son, ſtufft with monſtrous words, to which are attributed Vertues and Efficacies more than Divine; as,

Adnael,	*Tilelmejus*,
Adotavi,	*Cuercuerjam*,
Adotael,	*Flaſtaflaque*,

With many others more horrid to Pronunciation. But from hence it is apparent how much the *Habaſsines* reſemble the *Jews*, as affecting words of uncouth and unheard of inſignificancy, by which they thought to command both Heaven and Hell, which carrying a kind of a dreadful ſound, the *Habeſsines* alſo uſe them in their forms of Anathematizing, they cry,

And let him be accurs'd by Addirion *and* Actariel, *by* Sandalphon,

phon, *and* Hadarmel, *by* Anſiciel, *and* Patchiel, *by* Seraphiel, *and* Zeganzael, *by* Michael *and* Gabriel, *and by* Raphael *and* Meſchartiel, *and let him be interdicted by* Tzautzeviv, *and* Haueheviv, *He is the great God; and by the Seventy Names of that great King; and on the behalf of* Tzortak, *the great Enſign-Bearer.*

Chap. V.

Of the Religion of the Habaſsines *at this Day.*

The Reports of Matthew *the* Armenian *and* Tzagazaab *falſe or uncertain. The Fathers have omitted their ſoundeſt Opinions---And fix'd their ſeveral Errors upon them. The Confeſſion of* Claudius *Genuine. The great Authority of the Synodal Writers. They admit the* Nicene *and other Councils till that of* Chalcedon. *They acknowledge the Trinity, one Perſon of Chriſt, and his ſufficient Merit. The Proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son they deny.* Gregorie's *Diſpute and Opinion. The* Ethiopian *interpretation of the word* Proceed. *The Sacraments, Baptiſm, Communion under both Kinds. The real Preſence. The words they uſe in Reference to it.* Gregorie's *Opinion of Tranſubſtantiation. Of the Soul after Death. They pray for the Dead. Deny Purgatory.* Gregorie's *Opinion concerning it. The Original of Prayer for the Dead. They pray to Saints and Angels. Their Catechiſm for Children and* Neophytes.

WEre the Symbolical Book of the *Habeſsines*, which they call *Hajmanot-Abau* to be found in *Europe*, we might eaſily Collect from thence, the true and genuine Sence and Doctrine of the *Ethiopic* Church concerning the Heads and Articles of the Chriſtian Faith: for hitherto we find the moſt of them uncertainly deliver'd, and for the Confeſſion of Faith ſet down by *Matthew* the *Armenian*, and *Tzagazaab*, we have already taken notice of the failings in it. The Fathers of the Society, that have been converſant among the *Habeſsines* both in this and the former Century, and frequently diſcours'd with their Learned Men, paſſing by their ſound and ſerious Opinions, tax them of many Errors which they have receiv'd from the *Greeks* and *Jews*. As for Example,

That the Spirit proceeds only from the Father.

That the Human Nature of Chriſt is equal to his Divinity.

They

They acknowledge but one Will and one Operation in Christ; for which reason they believe that we affirm Four Persons in the Godhead, seeing that we confess two Wills and two Natures in Christ.

They repeat the Ceremony of Baptism every year upon the Feast of the Epiphany.

They believe that the Souls of the Just shall not be receiv'd into Heaven before the end of the World; nor do they think them to be Created, but produc'd out of Matter.

They neither confess the Number, nor the particular Species of their Sins, but cry in general, I have sin'd, I have sin'd.

They use not the Sacrament of *Chrism, nor Extream Unction upon the approach of Death; nor do they mind the Consolation of the bread of life. Insomuch that many of them stick not to say, That they who follow the* Roman *Religion, are not only* Heretics, *but worse than the* Mahumetans.

They reject the Council of Chalcedon, *casting many reproaches upon* Leo *the Great; but highly applauding* Dioscurus.

They deny Purgatory.

These things I chose to deliver almost in the very words of *Godignus*, who Collected them out of the Relations and Letters of *Gonzalez Rodoric*, *Alphonsus de Franca*, *Emanuel Fernandez*, and others of the Society. Neither do they seem to be improbable; but how they evade or excuse them, we shall shortly declare. As to what is said that some of them believe the Followers of the *Romish* Religion to be worse than *Mahumetans*, I could not hear any such thing from *Gregory*: neither did he think it was to be understood in reference to their Doctrine, but their Tyranny over their Subjects; it being the Custom of the *Mahumetans* only to vex and oppress all those who are under their Power, professing a Religion contrary to theirs, but never to rage against them with Fire and Sword.

In the mean time we have a Confession set forth by King *Claudius*; but the scope of that Confession was only to clear himself and his Subjects from the Imputation of *Judaism*, which he found to be the only reason that impeded the Amity between him and the *Portugals*. Therefore leaving this Confession, by what we can gather from their Publick Liturgies, and the Writings and Sayings of Persons, both Publick and Private, the sum of the *Habessinian* Doctrine seems to consist of the following Heads.

First, They acknowledge the *Holy Scripture* to be the ſole and only *Rule* of what they are to believe, and what they are to do: inſomuch that King *David* ſaid to *Alvarez*, That if the Pope ſhould impoſe upon Him or His Subjects, any thing what the Apoſtles had not written or permitted, he would not obey him; nor his own *Metropolitan* if he ſhould attempt to do the like. But with the Scripture they are ſo much in love, that there is nothing more delightful to their Ears, than the repetition of it. Therefore ſaith *Tellez*,

Nothing more pleas'd the Habeſſines *than to hear the Scripture often quoted in Sermons; and the more Citations a man brings out of Scripture, the more learned he is accompted.*

Nor do they give much leſs Credit to the Three Oecumenical Councils, as appears by the Confeſſion of *Claudius*. They generally make uſe of the *Nicene Creed*, which they call *Tzalot Hajmanot*, *the Prayer of the Faith*. That which we uſe they have not, no more than all the reſt of the Eaſtern Churches; a ſtrong Argument, that it was not compil'd by the Apoſtles, tho' in regard of the Doctrine which it contains, it may be truly call'd *Apoſtolic*. For certainly the *Nicene* Fathers would not have ſtiſl'd ſuch a Creed, or ſet forth another of their own, had the Apoſtles left ſuch an Epitome of their Doctrine behind them. The Ancient Greek Councils then are the Councils which the *Habeſsines* have in reverence, together with the Eighty four ancient Canons added to thoſe of the *Nicene* Council, till they come to that of *Chalcedon*, which they do not only utterly reject, but alſo Criminally reproach.

Whatever therefore the Catholic Church admitted and believ'd before that Council, concerning God, Three in one; the Three diſtinct Perſons in one Eſſence, the Eternity of the Son of God, the Exiſtence of the Holy Ghoſt, and other Articles of Faith, all thoſe things the *Habeſsines* willingly conſent to and allow, condemning thoſe that Diſpute againſt them. By the way, we are here to obſerve, that the Ethiopic words, *Sabſatu Gaz Gaz Egza Bahr*, Three Perſons and one God, are vulgarly ill Tranſlated, being to have bin render'd, *Three Faces*, *One Lord*; for the word *Gaz*, ſignifies as well the *Face* or *Countenance*, as it bears the force of the Greek word Πρόσωπον, or *Perſon*.

The

The Neſtorian Hereſie aſſerting two Perſons in Chriſt, they ſo abhor, that for that very reaſon they will not admit of his two Natures, and two Wills, tho they poſitively acknowledge his Divinity and Humanity. For they affirm Chriſt to be true and perfect God, and alſo true and perfect Man, and to conſiſt in one Individual Perſon of Divinity and Humanity, without Confuſion and Commixtion.

Farthermore, They acknowledge the moſt Sacred Merits of Chriſt, to be moſt ſufficient and efficacious for the Sins of the whole world, and conſequently of all Mankind; and this *Gregory* himſelf affirm'd to be true: nor have I found in any of their Books which I have happen'd to ſee, any thing that contradicts what he aſſerted. However, as the Grecks do, they deny the Proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son; yet all this while they acknowledge him to be equally the Spirit of the Father and the Son, and to be a Perſon ſubſiſting of himſelf. For thus they declare in their Liturgy.

We believe the Father ſending, that the Father is in his own Perſon. And we believe the Son who is ſent, that the Son is in his own Perſon, and we believe the Holy Ghoſt who deſcended upon Jordan, *and upon the Apoſtles, that the Holy Ghoſt is in his own Perſon; Three Names, One God. Not as* Abraham *who is elder than* Iſaac, *nor as* Iſaac *who is Elder than* Jacob. *It is not ſo, The Father is not Elder than the Son, becauſe he is the Father, nor the Son Elder than the Holy Ghoſt, nor the Holy Ghoſt leſſer or Younger than the Father and the Son, nor is the Son Younger than the Father, becauſe he is the Son. Not as* Abraham *who commanded over* Iſaac *in reſpect of Generation, becauſe he begat him, nor as* Iſaac *who commanded* Jacob. *It is not ſo in Divinity; The Father does not command the Son, becauſe he is the Father; neitner is the Son greater than the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe he is the Son. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt are Equal; One God, one Glory, one Kingdom, one Power, one Empire.*

But concerning the *Hypoſtaſis*, or Perſon of the *Holy Ghoſt* really diſtinct from the *Father* and the *Son*, the Author of the *Organon* thus diſcourſes.

But leaſt any one, from what has been already ſaid, ſhould infer, that the Holy Ghoſt is not a perfect and diſtinct Per-

ſon; therefore ſaid Chriſt to his Apoſtles, *I will ſend you another Comforter*. By which we know that the Holy Ghoſt doth exiſt together with the Father and the Son, and alſo together in his own proper Subſiſtance or Perſon. Not that the Holy Ghoſt is partly in the Son, partly in his own Perſon, but one and the ſame, exiſtent in his proper Perſon, and exiſtent with the Father and the Son.

Gregory being ask'd, whether this were the unanimous and conſtant Opinion of all the *Ethiopian* Doctors? reply'd, *It was*. Thereupon urg'd, *Why they deny'd that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Father? ſeeing they aſſerted, that he was equally the Spirit of the Father and the Son? He deſir'd, That I would firſt expound what was meant by Proceeding from the Father*, and then he would give the reaſon of the Denyal; and that for his part, he kept to the words of the Scripture, *John* 15. 26. and 16. 24. *Who goeth out from the Father, and takes from the Son*; and that he ſought no farther. For that it was not lawful in Diſputes concerning the moſt abſtruſe Myſteries of the Holy Trinity, to argue by Conſequences; but to ſtick cloſe to the very words and Expreſſions of Scripture themſelves. That I ſhould conſider what would follow, if we ſhould argue from the Unity and Equality of Eſſence to the Characteriſtical Proprieties of the Perſons. As if any one ſhould undertake to averr, *That Chriſt is the Son of the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt is one and Coeternal God with the Father*. Some ſuch kind of Argument his Countryman *Tzagazaab* may be thought to have had in his Brain, when he wrote, That Chriſt was the Son of himſelf, and the Beginning of himſelf, becauſe he was co-eſſential with the Father, whoſe Son he was. By the way we are to underſtand, That the *Ethiopians*, inſtead of the word *Vazzea*, *went forth or proceeded*, and in the Preterperfect tenſe, uſe the word *Saraz*, to *budd* or *ſprout forth*. Thus *Claudius* in his Confeſſion.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, reviving Lord, Zaſratz em Ab, *who proceeded or ſprung from the Father*.

They never add from the Son, altho the Liturgy Printed at *Rome*, and *Tzagazaab*'s Confeſſion runs thus, *Zaſraz em Ab vavalde*, who ſprouted forth or proceeded from the Father and the Son. Where 'tis much to be doubted, that *from the Son* was inſerted by another hand

We proceed to the *Sacraments*, of which they neither have the common name nor number. For they are utterly ignorant

rant of *Confirmation* and *Extreme Unction*. They make use of the word *Mastar*, for a *Mysterie*, whenever they go about to intimate the Mysterie of the Participation of the Body ahd Blood of Jesus Christ. Otherwise they do not think it necessary, to signifie the *Seals of Faith*, by any other Vulgar name not us'd in Scripture, or to make much dispute about the Number. Only said *Gregory*, They make use of *Baptism* according to the Institution of Christ, and with the Ceremonies anciently made use of by the Church. But the Fathers of the Society reported, That the Ceremonies of Baptism were so deprav'd and corrupted among the *Habessines*, that they were constrain'd to Rebaptize great Numbers under a Condition.

As for the *Holy Communion*, they Administer it indifferently to all, both Layety and Clergy, as it is the Custom in all the Churches of the East. Neither has any thing more alienated their minds from the *Fathers*, than their finding the Layety to be depriv'd of the Cup by the Latins. *Gregory* being demanded what he thought of the real Presence of the Body and Blood in the *Lord's Supper?* made answer, That he acknowledged it. Adding withal, according to his manner, when any Discourses arose of Matters more difficult and abstruse than ordinary, *Retzitze nagare vet*, 'tis a nice business; or, *Mastar vet*, *It is a Mystery*. When I produc'd him these words in the Liturgies.

Lord now lay thy hand upon this Dish, Bless it, Sanctifie it, and Purifie it, that so thy Body may be made holy therein.

Again,

Lay thy hand upon this Cup, and now bless it, sanctifie it, and purifie it, that thy Blood may become holy therein.

In another place.

Lay thy hand upon this Spoon of the Cross, to prepare the Body and Blood of thy only Son our Lord and God.

And in another place,

Convert this Bread, that it may become thy pure Body, which is joyn'd with this Cup of thy most precious Blood.

And out of the Eucharistic Prayer, which bears the Title of the 318 *Orthodox Divines*, these following words:

Let

Let the Holy Ghost descend, and come and shine upon this Bread, that it may be made the Body of Christ our Lord, and that the taste and savour of this Cup may be chang'd, that so it may be made the Blood of Christ our Lord.

And when I ask'd him withal the Exposition of the words *Majete vat valto*, to *be chang'd or converted*; and then demanded of him, *Whether he did not think that the substance of the Bread and Wine was not chang'd and converted into the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ?* He made answer, *That no such sort of Transubstantiation was known or understood by the* Habessines. *That his Countrymen were not so scrupulous, nor us'd to start such thorny Questions. Nevertheless it seem'd to him probable and like, that the vulgar Bread and Wine was chang'd into the mysterious Representation of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*; and so was alter'd from Prophane to Sacred, to represent the true Body and Blood of Christ to the Communicants. *Tellez* confesses his dissatisfaction touching their Consecration, it being their Custom to say over the Body of Christ, *This bread is my Body*; and over the Wine, *This cup is my Blood.* Which words have not in them the true force of Consecration. For the Doctors of the *Roman* Church are of Opinion, That whoever speaks those words, does nothing; These words, *This is my Body*, being only of Efficacy to operate a true Transubstantiation. Which being true, no man can pretend that the *Abessines* acknowlege Transubstantiation, especially seeing they do not attribute those Divine Honours to the Sacraments, which the Consequences of real Transubstantiation require.

Concerning the state of the Soul after Death, there are several Opinions among the *Habessines*, every one having free Liberty of Opinion in those things that do not directly concern Eternal Salvation. So that it is no wonder that so many various Sentiments of private persons are brought away by our Doctors, as the publick Opinions of the *Habessines*.

Some of them believe that the Souls of Men piously deceased, shall not behold the Beatifical Vision of God before the Resurrection of the Body; which is also the Opinion of many of the Ancient Latins: as if the Soul remain'd in Expectation of the Body in some certain third place. Others, convinc'd by the Authority of the Scripture, *acknowledge only two Mansions of the Souls, Heaven and Hell; believing no Damnation to those that are in Christ, and dye in his Faith.*

Which

Which they gather from the Example of the Penitent Thief, and the words of Christ, thus Translated by the *Ethiopians*,

Verily I say unto thee, firmly believe, that thou shalt be with me in Paradice.

Therefore, as for those that Piously sleep in Christ, they believe them not to be in a worse Condition than this Thief, who at the point of Death was sav'd through Penitence actuated by Faith, without any satisfaction given for his Thieveries. Now to prove that the Soul of Man is not created, they produce this Argument, That God perfected the whole Work of his Creation upon the Sixth day. Nevertheless they believe it to be in its own Nature immortal, as being inspir'd into Man by God, at his first Creation. But on the other side, they think it very absurd that God should be ty'd to create new Souls every day for Adulterate and Incestuous Births.

However the first Opinion seems to be the more vulgarly receiv'd among them, in regard of their Prayers for the Dead: As for example.

Remember, Lord, the Souls of thy Servants, and our Father, Abba-Matthew, *and the rest of our Fathers,* Abba-Salama, *and* Abba-Jacob.

And a little after,

Remember, Lord, the Kings of Ethiopia, Abreha, *and* Atzbeha, Caleb, *and* Gebra-Meskah, *&c.*

Then they add,

Release, O Lord, our Fathers Abba Antony *and* Abba Macarius.

Remember, Lord, the Soul of thy Servant, our Father Tecla-Hajmanot, *with all his Companions.*

From whence it may be fairly justify'd, that the *Abessines* admit of a *Purgatory.* And yet *Gregory* constantly deny'd it. And *Godignus* confesses, *That there are no sacred Services said for the deceas'd among the* Habessines. The same thing *Tellez* confirms. However he derides them, as not constant to themselves; for that, *to pray for the Dead, and distribute Alms*

to

to the Poor, is no other than to aſſert Purgatory. Nor do I ſee how they can reconcile their Praying for the Reſt of happy Souls; and at another time, their imploring the Interceſſion of the ſame Souls.

But they nothing mov'd with theſe Arguments and Inferences, affirm them to be *the Pious Conception of their good wiſhes, and only a Commemoration of the happy Eſtate of the deceas'd; and that it is none of their buſineſs to make any farther ſcrutiny into the Traditions of their Anceſtors.* *Gregory* added, That *many Prayers* of the Chriſtians were ſo conceiv'd, that many times thoſe things were Petition'd for, which were *already perform'd and anſwer'd. That the Lord's Prayer contain'd Petitions of that kind. For that it would be a thing but badly inferr'd, that the Name of God was not Hallow'd, or that his Will was not done both in Heaven and Earth, becauſe we daily put up thoſe Prayers: beſides we all begg every day for Daily Bread, when moſt of thoſe that make that Prayer, do generally live in wealthy abundance.* He had heard perhaps among us our general good Wiſhes for the departed, That *God would vouchſafe to grant the Interr'd Body a Quiet Repoſe, and at length a joyful Reſurrection.* And thereupon, ſaid he, *Do not you your ſelves wiſh the ſame good wiſhes for the Dead? Do not you believe that the Carkaſſes of the Dead may be vexed with Spiritual Evils? or that a happy Reſurrection may be obtain'd by your Prayers.* And he took ſo heinouſly the ſuſpition of his belief of Purgatory, that he cry'd out, *Would it not be an irreverent Injury to ſo many Kings and Fathers, ſhould we interpret the Commemoration of their Souls to that height, as to think they ſhould be tormented for ſo many Ages in Purgatory, and want the aid of our indefatigable Prayers to releaſe them after ſo long an Impriſonment?* For thoſe Kings and Fathers were men among the *Habeſſines* moſt Innocent, and had bin dead above a Thouſand years ſince or more. So that whether they be in Paradice, or remain in any other place, expecting the Reſurrection of their Bodies, in both caſes Prayers of that Nature ſeem ſuperfluous.

Beſides, were there any Queſtion to be made of the happy Condition of Men Piouſly deceas'd, we ſhould rather pray for thoſe whoſe lives were more looſe and vain, than for thoſe whoſe Converſations were without blame. And therefore what has bin deliver'd about the Opinions of the *Habeſſines* concerning Purgatory, leans rather upon Conjecture than any ſufficient Authority, they being ignorant of the

very Name. Insomuch that *Jacob Wemmers* the *Carmelite*, in his *Ethiopic* Lexicon, was constrain'd to forge a Word, by calling it *Mantzehi Hatate*, the Purger of Sin. But we are to understand, that it was the most Ancient Custom of the Church first of all to read the Names of the Holy Martyrs out of the Public Registers, as being a Duty owing to the memory of the invincible Testimonies for Christ. Which the following Ages strain'd another way, as if they had need of our Intercession; and others, as if we could not be without their Intercession, made it a pretence to invoke the Holy Saints, as if they were present and heard them. To which we may add, That the Ancient Christian Orators, and Writers of Homilies, making use of their Rhetorick, by vertue of that Figure commonly call'd *Prosopopoeia*, bespoke the blessed Saints, and introduc'd them as it were returning Answers; from whence it is not improbable that Suspition might introduce the Custom of giving the same Adoration to them as to God himself, and worshipping them with Temples, Altars, and other Divine Honours. Which nevertheless the *Habessines* do not do; for though they keep Holydaies in memory of their Saints, they do not call them *Bagnabat*, *Solemnities*; but *Tjabarat*, *Remembrances*. They also invoke them, tho they know not after what manner they may be able to hear them; and beg their Intercessions also, especially of the most Holy Virgin *Mary*, to whom they bear such an affectionate Reverence, that they think whatever the Church of *Rome* has invented to her Honour, all too little; and yet they erect no Statues to her memory for all that, being contented only with her Pictures. When they were in a rage against those of the *Roman* Religion, and pursu'd 'em in their fury with Sticks and Stones, they cry'd out, *Kill, Kill; whoever is not an Enemy of* Marie, *let him take up a Stone to stone her Enemies to Death.*

But more than this, they many times invoke the Angels, as having for that perhaps a more specious pretence, because they have bin frequently said to appear to good Men and Women, and hear their Prayers.

Of these the *Ethiopians* reckon no less than Nine Orders, which they borrow from their Names and Epithites given them in Sacred Scripture.

Malaeket, Angels particularly so call'd, or by another Name, *Manofsat*, *Spirits*; *Bitean Malaeket*, *Arch-Angels*.

Agaezet,	*Lords,* κυριότητες.
Saltanot,	*Magistracies,* ἀρχαὶ.
Manoberet,	*Thrones,* θρόνοι.
Hujebat,	*Powers,* ἐξουσίαι.
Maqinenet,	*Princes.*
Qirubil,	*Cherubims.*
Surafel,	*Seraphims.*

Some there are who give them several other Sirnames, as *Bikanot*, *Primores* or *Cheiftains*, and *Arbabe*, or *Arbab Asat*, as much as to say *fierie Myriads.*

Others there are who affirm, That first of all there were *Ten Orders*, of which the first, whose Chieftain was *Satanael*, together with his Associates, revolted from God; and that the Blessed hereafter shall succeed into their places; which they assert to be the cause of the Devils inveterate hatred toward Man.

As to their forms of Catechizing Youth and Neophytes, the following Accompt may afford very great Satisfaction; as being written by *Gregory* with his own hand, and all that he could then call to mind.

A Brief Accompt of the Heads of the Ethiopic *Faith, in which they usually instruct their Youth and Neophytes. They are Extant more at large in* Ethiopia, *but more succinctly, as follows.*

What God dost thou Worship?

The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons, but one Deity.

Of these Three Persons, which is the first, which the last? which the greatest, which the least?

Their is no Person first or last, no Person Superior, or Inferior; but all equal in all things.

How many Persons?

Three.

How many Gods?

One.

One.

How many Deities?

One.

How many Kingdoms?

One.

How many Powers?

One.

How many Creators?

One.

How many Wills?

One.

Is God limited by time?

No, For he is from all Eternity, and shall endure to all Eternity.

Where is God?

Every where, and in all things.

Is not the Father God?

Yes.

Is not the Son God?

Yes.

Is not the Holy Ghost God?

Yes.

Dost thou not therefore say there are Three Gods?

I do not say Three Gods, but Three Persons, and One only God.

Who begat the Son?

God the Father. But the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from Father, and takes from the Son.

Pray ſhew me ſome Similitude how Three Perſons can be in one Deity?

The Sun, tho he be but one in Subſtance, yet in him are found three diſtinct Things, Rotundity, Light and Heat. Thus we alſo believe that in *one God there are three Perſons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, equal in all things.*

Of thoſe Three Perſons, which was born for our Redemption?

The ſecond Perſon, viz. *The Son of God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

How many Nativities had he?

Two.

Which were they?

His firſt Nativity was from the Father, without Mother, without time; The ſecond from the Virgin Mary *our Lady, without Father, in time ſhe always remaining a Virgin.*

Is Jeſus Chriſt our Lord a Man, or is he truely God?

God and Man both, in one Perſon, without Separation, and without Change; without Confuſion or Commixture.

In the ſame manner do the Habeſſines *Believe and Teach all matters of Faith;* viz. *Concerning the Baptiſm of Chriſt, his Faſting, his Paſſion, his Death, his Reſurrection, his Aſcention into Heaven, and ſending of the* Holy Ghoſt. *Moreover, That he ſhall return in Glory to Judge the Quick and the Dead. That he is preſent in the Holy Sacrament. That the Dead ſhall riſe at the laſt Day. That the Juſt ſhall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; but that Sinners ſhall be condemn'd to Hell. They alſo believe the Catholic Church, according to the Creed compil'd by the 318 Orthodox Fathers, that met at the Council of* Nice.

We ſhall not add more at preſent, till more and thoſe Publickly approv'd Books ſhall come to our hands, that we may not imprudently attribute, as ſome have done, the Opinions of private perſons to the whole Church. CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Ethiopic *Church, as also of the* Habessine *Temples.*

Sacred Rites often an Occasion of Disturbance in the Church. The Prudent Decree of the Apostles. Paul's *Condescension necessary.* Judaish *Rites retain'd. Many new Ceremonies invented by the Pope, by the* Alexandrian *Metropolitan none. The most ancient Ceremonies retain'd by the* Abessines. *Their Churches dark, like the Synagogues. The Divisions of them, and Quires. The Nobility made Deacons. The Bishops Lodgings. Much honour'd. They admit of Pictures. They sign with the Cross. Baptism of grown People. Undertakers why so call'd. The Eucharist given to baptiz'd Infants. Some frivolous forms of the* Habessines *constrain'd the Fathers to Rebaptize. The Custom of Annual Bathing not effectual for Baptism. The abuse of it. The State of Ecclesiastical Affairs miserable in* Habessinia. *The Reasons. General Confession. Absolution. Before 25 years of Age they believe themselves Innocent. Much Preaching.* Gregorie's *Opinion of their Sermons. They Read Homilies, &c. The Sacred Vessels for the Eucharist. Why the Stone Consecrated by the* Romans *is call'd a* Chest *by the* Habessinians. *A particular Discourse of the Author. Leavened Bread. The Wine distributed in a Spoon. The defect of it supply'd, The time and place for the Holy Supper. Two Holydaies in a Week. They want Bells. Their Music unpleasing, yet they Daunce about. Fastings, and fourth and sixth Holydaies whence. None during* Easter. *Of the Fasts of the Protestants in* Europe. *The beginning of the year. Their manner of Computation, Nuptial Rites. Polygamy. Marriages of Cousin Germans, or first Cousins. Divorces. Burials.*

HItherto we have set forth what the *Habessines* believe concerning the *Trinity*, & the Principal Articles of the Christian Faith. The order of our Story now requires that we should say something of their Rites and Ceremonies. For tho it nothing avail at what time or in what manner sound Doctrine be Preach'd, so that all things be done decently and in order; nevertheless these Rites and Ceremonies have begat great Disputes, and produc'd great Disturbances in the Church.

For indeed from the very Infancy of the Gospel, various were the Contentions of Holy and Pious men about Ceremonies. Some believ'd that the *Judaic* Rites, not being expresly abrogated by Christ, were of necessity to be observ'd, together with the Doctrine and Sacraments of the New Testament,

ſtament, even as helps to Salvation. Others there were who judg'd that they might be profitably retain'd, though not of abſolute neceſſity, as well in remembrance of the ancient Church of God, as to gain the Souls of the *Jews*. The firſt Opinion the Apoſtles themſelves Condemn'd. In other things uſing Apoſtolic Prudence and Moderation, they made a diſtinction betwen *Jews* and *Ethnics* newly Converted. For they not only permitted the *Jews* to retain their ancient Rites, but perſwaded *Paul* to comply with ſo many Millions of unbelieving *Jews*, who were Zealous Admirers of the Law, and accus'd *Paul*, for teaching a Defection from the Law, for forbidding Infants to be Circumciz'd, and for not living according to the *Jewiſh* Cuſtoms. *Paul* obey'd, and purify'd himſelf with his Companions, ſhav'd his Head, and ſo entring the Temple together, offer'd up an Offering for every one of them. Nay, more then this, what would be now accompted a heinous Crime, he caus'd *Timothy* to be Circumciz'd, being induc'd thereto by the Neceſſity of thoſe times. Yet at another time he condemn'd Circumciſion, if it were done with a *Judaic* Intention.

Thus an Action in it ſelf indifferent, becomes bad or good, from the Reaſon and Intention of the Agent. But then, what what was to be done with the *Gentiles* that embrac'd the Faith of Chriſt, the Apoſtles took into their Deliberation. Nevertheleſs they would not oblige them to the Obſervation of the *Moſaic* Law, but only in anſwer to their Doubts, they commanded them only to abſtain from thoſe things, which might not only create in the *Jews* a diſlike of the Goſpel; but alſo very much ſcandalize thoſe that were already Proſelytes, and diſturb mutual Charity and Friendſhip in daily Converſe and Society. For the *Jews* would not Dyet with thoſe who eat things *Sacrific'd to Idols*, or *ſtrangled*, nor the *blood* it ſelf. From that time ſome of the *Judaic* Rites prevail'd as indifferent among moſt, who did not contend againſt Piety and Chriſtian Doctrine. Till at length by degrees they were either abrogated by the Church, or worn out of Uſe. Nor had the moſt ancient Inſtitutions of the Chriſtians any other Originals, as the *Building of Churches*, *Plunging the whole Body in Baptiſm*, Two *Faſt Dayes* in a Week, Feſtivals and the like. However there were but few Ceremonies in the troubleſome times of the Church; but in the times of Peace, they increas'd to Infinity: and the worſe the ſtate of the Church was,

was, the more Ceremonies; insomuch that St. *Austin* complain'd in his time, *That the most wholsom Precepts of Divine Books were not so much regarded, as the fictitious Comments and Inventions of Men upon them.* The Church of *Rome*, by how much more opulent and powerful than the rest; so much the more sedulously and industriously it compos'd all things to Splendour and Pomp. The *Roman* Pontiff being the sole Judge of all things, whether convenient, or not commodious, and what he thought fit to Abrogate or Establish. But the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, whom the *Ethiopians* obey as their High Pontiff, what with the unhappy Contentions between the *Melchites*, and *Jacobites*, and the Persecutions of the *Saracens*, has had enough to do to keep his own Station, not being at leisure in the midst of so many Storms, to think of divulging new Ceremonies. Nor would the *Habessines* out of their wonted simplicity and plain-heartedness, the best Preserver of ancient Custom, attempt to alter or abrogate any thing without his leave or Command. Whence it comes to pass, that many of the most ancient Customs of the Primitive times, in other places out of date or abrogated, are still retain'd to this day among them. Which makes us hope that our Labour will not be ungrateful to the Reader, curious of Ecclesiastic Antiquity, if we compare the Old with the New. First, only their Churches are briefly to be describ'd, which formerly were sufficiently Magnificent, and by King *Ladibela* hewn out of the Bodies of the Rocks themselves. Some were also Built by the Succeeding Kings; but *Grainus*, out of his hatred to Christianity, ruin'd the greatest part of them. There are yet remaining some Footsteps of that famous Cathedral, which *Helena*, *David's* Grandmother Built: In which there is more want of Light than of Gold or Silver. The Structure of most resembles the Ancient Architecture. For the ancient Christians, when first they had obtain'd the Opportunities of building Churches for Public Use, choosing rather to imitate the *Jews*, than the *Gentiles*, Built them in imitation of the ancient Temple of *Jerusalem*, or of the *Jewish* Synagogues; nor did they give them the heathenish Names of Temples; but call'd them *Ilyriacas*, as it were dedicated to God, or else *Oratories*, or *Martyria*, Places of Public Testimony. Now as the Temple of *Jerusalem* being encompassed with a spacious Wall, consisted chiefly of three parts; that is to say, אלם or the

wide

wide Porch, היכל or *the body of the Temple*; and laſtly, רביר or the *Holy of Holies*, ſo the Cathedrals of the Ancients, had a Porch before the great Folding Dores ſurrounded with a Wall, where the *Excommunicated*, and *Penitents*, and *Novices* were oblig'd to tarry, till the latter more fully inſtructed in Chriſtianity, were admitted to Baptiſm; or the former brought forth the real fruits of Amendment. Then there was the Body of the Church, in the middle of which was a *ſecret Place*, ſcreen'd with a Curtain, which was call'd the *Sacrificatory*, as alſo the *Suggeſtum*, or place where the Pulpit ſtood, in Greek βῆμα, which repreſented the *Holy of Holies*. Such a *Suggeſtum*, or Place of Aſcenſion is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Jewiſh* Synagogues, and call'd in imitation of the Greek word *Bimah*. But this the *Europeans* afterward thought more convenient to remove to the farther end of the Church: we call it now the *Quire*, for the moſt part ſeparated with Iron Lattices from the Body of the Structure. Theſe Antique Forms of Building were accommodated to the ancient Ceremonies. For as the *Jews* were admitted no farther than the Dores, and the Prieſts only ſuffer'd to paſs beyond the Threſhold, ſo here none but the Baptiz'd were admitted as it were into the Boſom of the Church, the reſt, like the *Gentiles* among the *Jews*, prohibited from approaching nearer than the Dores. The Quire none but the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons enter'd, which was ſo rigidly obſerv'd by the Ancients, that St. *Ambroſe* commanded the Emperor himſelf *Theodoſius*, to withdraw; whereas the Greek Church allow'd that Priviledge to their Emperors, and gave them Liberty to enter the Sanctuary when they offer'd to the Sacred Table. After the ſame manner, the more famous Churches of the *Ethiopians* were Built; and they have alſo the ſame ſort of Sanctuaries, which they call by the Hebrew Name, *Heichel*, at the entry whereof the Layety ſtand and receive the Communion. Leaſt therefore their Nobility and their Children ſhould be forc'd to ſtand among the Vulgar Croud, or they be conſtrain'd to break their Law and Cuſtom, Prohibiting the Layety to enter their *Heichel*, and participate of their Sacred Myſteries, they have found out a new Evaſion, by Creating the Nobility and their Children, tho' ne're ſo young, or under Age, *Deacons* or *Sub-deacons*; in that only deviating from their ancient Simplicity. The King's Children aſſume that Dignity of courſe, carrying a Croſs, as a

badge

badge of their *Deaconship*, which they ne'r leave off when they come to the Crown. Which the *Portugueses* looking upon as an Ornament of *Priesthood*, it gave them an occasion to give the *Habessine* Emperor the Title of *Presbyter John*. There is also a little Chappel adjoyning to the Eastern part of the Church, in which the Bread and other Necessaries belonging to the Eucharist are prepar'd. Such little Chappels or Rooms were Built of old near to the great Church, where the Bishops were wont to put on their Vestments: now they are small Apartments made within the Walls of the Church, call'd by the Name of Vestries. They have no Seats in their Churches, for they neither sit nor kneel, but always stand during Divine Service; according to the ancient Canons, which the *Greeks* and *Russes* observe to this day, as believing it more becoming the Reverence due to the Place, and more proper for Attention than to sit. The next Age providing more kindly for Infirmity, permitted sitting, least Attention should be tyr'd by weariness. But the *Habessines* have found out a way between both; that is to say, little Crutches to lean and rest their Bodies, which when they go away, they leave in the Church Porch. If there be any who out of weakness chance to sit upon the Ground, they are in the mid'st of Prayers commanded by the Deacons to rise, in these words, *Eb Tarber, Tanse*, You *that sit, Rise*. Nay, such is their Reverence to their Churches, that tho at this day they are only poor low dark Buildings, thatch'd with Straw or Reeds, yet when they approach near to any of them in their Travels, they alight from their Mules, and walk a foot till they are past them: They also put off their Shooes at the Door, and never spit upon the Pavement. No Females are admitted during their Impurities, nor Wives that have known their Husbands, all the day following. In this none more Rigid then the Ancients, who only admonish'd such to Abstain from the Holy Communion.

Pictures they admit into their Churches; but as for Statues or Sculptures Engraven or Cast, they abominate them, with the same antipathy as they do Idols. Perhaps because they never had any in the Primitive times of the Church. For it was the Saying of the Ancients, *Why should Men go about to make any likeness of God, when Man himself was his Image, and no better could be made?* And therefore it is a hei-

nous Offence for any one to carry about them the Picture of Christ Crucify'd. However the Clergy carry bare Crosses in their hands, which they who meet them, reverence with a Kiss; thereby Professing themselves Christians. For they often sign both themselves, and the things that belong to them, with the Sign of the Cross, after the Custom of the most ancient Christians; who were wont so to do.

We shall now proceed to the Sacred Ceremonies of the *Habessines*, beginning with the first initiation into Christianity, *Baptism*. The Priest being to Baptize a Person or Persons of full Age, which there many times happens, by reason of the frequent Conversion of the Heathen, begins with the 52 *Psalm*, then having Perfum'd the Persons with a Censor of Frankincense, he enquires the Names of them that are to be Baptiz'd. Then after the Recital of certain Prayers, the Deacon at the same time frequently Exhorting the Hearers to joyn with the Priest, he Anoints several parts of the Body with the Holy Oyl, and lays his Hand upon the *Neophyte's* Head. Which done, the *Neophytes*, lifting up their right Hands, and looking toward the West, abjure *Satan*, as the Prince of Darkness. Then turning to the East, as to the Sun of Justice, and lifting up again their Right hands, they make as it were a kind of Vow to Christ; which don, they say over the Creed after the Priest, who putting the Question, They answer, *They do Believe*. Which ended, the Parties again are anointed, and some certain pieces of Chapters are read out of the Gospel of St. *John*, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. *Paul*. At length the Oyl is so pour'd into the Water prepar'd for the Baptism, as to resemble in falling the Signature of the Cross, and after the Rehearsal of several other Prayers, the Priest descends into a certain Pool, made on purpose before the Doors of the Church, whither the Persons being conducted by the Deacon, the Priest takes them, and plunges them three times over Head and Ears, saying, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.* At the same time the Men have Men, the Women Women to assist them, who lending their Hands and Arms to their Friends, support them in going out of the Pool, and were therefore call'd *Susceptores* or *Upholders* by the Ancients. Being thus wash'd, and once more anointed, they are first

clad

clad with a White Under-garment, to signifie the Purity of the Mind; and over that, with a Red Vestment, in token of their Salvation purchas'd by the Blood of Christ; and so introduc'd into the Church, where, being intermixed with Christians, they are made Partakers of the Holy Communion. At their departure they are presented with Milk and Honey, and so the Priest laying his Hand upon their Heads, dismisses them with this Benediction, *Sons of Baptism, go in Peace.* For the *Habessines* frequently call the Christians *Velda Temqet, Sons of Baptism.* All which Circumstances are agreeable to the Rites of the Ancients. *Let us thrice be plung'd,* saith *Tertullian, and thence supported, let us taste the Society of Milk and Honey.* These are the Ceremonies observ'd toward those of ripe years.

The Ceremonies of Baptizing Infants are much shorter. Males were formerly never Baptiz'd before the Fortieth day, Females before the Eightieth day, unless upon imminent danger of Death. But now they hasten Baptism much sooner, especially if the Infant be weak and sickly. The Godfathers and Godmothers make answer to the Priest in their behalf. Nor are they plung'd in the Water, but only Sprinkl'd and Dipp'd, and that at the Entrance only of the Church; there being no admittance for them into the Church before Baptism. Lastly, Because the Holy Communion is given to those of riper years presently after Baptism, therefore least Infants should be in a worse Condition, in former times they dropt two or three drops out of the Sacred Cup, having crumbl'd a little piece of the Holy Bread into it before: to shew there was the same regard to be had to them, as to those of riper Age. Which being long observ'd in the Latin Church, the *Ethiopians*, together with the *Armenians*, observe the Custom to this day. *Gregory* told me, That they did no more than only dip the top of one of their Fingers in the Wine, and moisten the Childs tongue. Now that they use the same form of words with us, *Alvarez* is Positive, that is to say, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Nor could I apprehend any otherwise out of their own Liturgies.

Which makes it more to be admir'd, what the Fathers of the Society, making no mention at all of this Form, have written into *Europe*, That several partly unwonted, partly frivolous Forms, and quite altering the Essence of Baptism,

were made uſe of by the *Habeſsine* Clergy: For Example, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the moſt Holy Trinity*; *I Baptize thee in the Name of Chriſt*; *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Holy Ghoſt* only; *I Baptize thee in the Water of* Jordan; *The Lord baptize thee*; *Let God waſh thee*; *Let Baptiſm waſh thee*; *Bleſſed be the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*, with ſeveral others of the ſame Nature. For which reaſon they were conſtrain'd to Rebaptize many People, not permitted by the Catholic Church, but upon extraordinary occaſions. So that at length they promiſcuouſly Rebaptiz'd all the *Habeſsinians*, tho with this Condition, That the firſt Baptiſm was not rightly perform'd, which drew upon them the Hatred and Envy of the *Habeſsinian* Clergy.

Many Writers have believ'd, and reported, That the *Ethiopians* were branded with a Mark after Baptiſm, in order to the fulfilling the words of *St. John*, *He that cometh after me ſhall Baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire.* But *Gregory* himſelf deny'd any ſuch Cuſtom, nor do the Fathers of the Society make any mention of it in their Writings. But this is certain, that the People of *Africa*, as well *Gentils*, as *Mahumetans*, do cauterize the Temple-Veins of Children newly Born, to preſerve them from *Catarrhs*. Which being perhaps done by ſome of the *Habeſsines* to the ſame end, was by ſome ignorant Foreigners taken for a Religious Ceremony. As having heard that formerly there were a ſort of ſilly Heretics, who miſinterpreting the word *Fire*, properly ſo taken, and wreſting it to the Improper ſignification of Baptiſm, preferr'd the Cauſtic Signature of Fire, before the Ceremony of waſhing in Water.

But now for what concerns their *Anniverſary* Baptiſm, with which the *Abeſsines* are ſo much reproach'd, we are to give this Light. Upon the XI. of *January*, which with us is upon the Sixth, in the mid'ſt of their Summer, and the Feaſt of the Epiphany, they keep a moſt joyful Feſtival in Commemoration of the Baptiſm of our Saviour, which with many of the Ancients, they certainly believe, was perform'd upon that day. By the firſt Dawn of the Morning Light, the Clergy begin the Solemnity with certain loud and chearful Hymns. The King with all the Nobility of the Court, the Metropolitan with the Clergy, Nobles and Plebeians, Old and Young, before Sun-riſe, throng into the Rivers and Ponds, and there delight themſelves in the Wa-

ter,

ter, plunging and diving over Head and Ears. As they meet any of the Priests, they crave a Blessing from them, who return them generally their desires in these words, *God bless thee*; or, *God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost bless thee.* Hence it was that many believ'd that the *Ethiopians* renew'd their Baptism every year. But as excess of Joy frequently begets wantonness; so is it frequent for the Young men upon this day to leap, and dance, and swim and duck one another; and by and by to fill the neighbouring Fields with Hoopings and Hallowings, the usual Consequences of such kind of Sports. So that they make of it rather a day of Jollity, than a Pious Christian Festival. All this I relate from *Gregorie*'s own Lips. The Relation of *Alvarez* is quite different, as if it were a real Baptism, and that the Men and Women were at that time promiscuously rebaptiz'd. Whether they did so, or whether *Alvarez* rightly understood the words of the Baptizer, I very much question. And yet I cannot but very much wonder at what *Tellez* reports, That at other times, and for slight causes, both Men and Women cause themselves to be rebaptized, and that after a most indecent manner. For should such a thing have been customary, King *Basilides* would never have upbraided the Fathers with their reiteration of Baptism, so frequently as he did. For my part, I never read or heard of any such thing. However, if any such thing were ever practis'd, it is to be attributed rather to the stupid ignorance of the Priests, then to allow'd Custom.

For in the last Century such was the most miserable Condition of the Ecclesiastical Affairs in *Habessinia*, that nothing could be more deplorable: at what time, by reason of the continual Invasions and Irruptions of the *Gallans* and *Adelans*, the People were dispierc'd and scatter'd up and down the Mountains and Rocks, like a Flock without a Shepheard, without Law, and almost without either King or Metropolitan; all Sacred Worship ceas'd; their Clergy were dissipated, and their Temples and Monasteries every where ruin'd and burnt. What wonder then that *Ignorance* and *Sloth* should grow upon them? and that the illiterate Priests, for want of Books, not to be supply'd by Printing, and through the scarcity of Learned Men, should rashly obtrude many things altogether Foreign from the Rites of their Ancestors. For such Accidents frequently happen in great

Cala-

Calamities, when Biſhops and Princes cannot perform, or elſe grow careleſs of their Offices; when little regarding their own Eternal Salvation, they leave that to fate, or the pleaſure of every private Perſon, which ſhould be their chief and principal care. Such was the Sluggiſhneſs that overwhelm'd all *Greece*, in the time of *Maurice* the Emperor; ſo that neither *Gregory* underſtood Greek, nor any one at *Conſtantinople* could underſtand Latin, ſuch was the miſery of that Age, in the Latin Church, as *Baronius* teſtifies, when nothing but meer Barbariſm and Ignorance Triumph'd, when all Arts and Vertuous Studies were Exil'd, and only Vice prevail'd in Church and State. At that time there was a certain Prieſt, who neither like a Latiniſt, nor a Chriſtian, had Baptiz'd ſeveral Infants in *Nomine Patria, & Filia, & Spiritua Sancta*, which Baptiſm was however confirm'd by *Zacharias* the Pope, by reaſon of the good intention of the *Baptizer*.

That Sinners after Baptiſm are reconcil'd to God and the Church, they make no Queſtion: However they teach that there muſt be a Repentance for theſe Sins, and that Repentance to be made known by Confeſſion. But to enumerate all and ſingular their particular Sins, with all their circumſtances, they think it neither commanded of God, nor at all neceſſary. And therefore, they only ſay in general words to the Prieſt, *Abſan, Abſan, we have Sinn'd, we have Sinn'd.* So that when the *Roman* Prieſts preſs'd them to particular Confeſſion, they never acknowledg'd any more than three, if they had been guilty, *Homicide, Adultery*, and *Theft*. To confeſs any more they could not be induc'd without great difficulty. The Offender is Abſolv'd in very few words, together with ſome gentle ſtripes upon the Side with an Olive twigg, which is thought ſufficient to deliver him from the Power of *Satan*. But as for them that have committed any of thoſe great Crimes before-named, they are not only chaſtiz'd with ſevere Reprehenſion and bitter Language, but many times alſo ſeverely Scourg'd, to the end they may not only hear, but be ſenſible of their Abſolution. *Tellez* reports, That the Metropolitan ſometimes hears Confeſſions himſelf; and that when he underſtands the heinouſneſs of the Crime, he riſes up, and after a ſharp rebuke of the Penitent, he cryes out, *Haſt thou done this? Dɔſt thou not fear God? Go too, let him be Scourg'd*

thirty

thirty or forty times. Presently the Executioners are ready, who streight prepare their Scourges, and give the miserable Sinner six or seven cutting lashes; the rest being remitted at the Intercession of the Standers by. There was one who to avoid so sharp an Absolution of his Crime, requested of the Metropolitan sitting in his Seat of Judicature, that he might make his Confession in Private; to whom the Metropolitan, *How! Shall not thy Sin be made manifest at the last day, before all the World?* Tell therefore, *what it is?* The unfortunate Offender believing it his duty to obey, openly confess'd, it was the *stealing of Oxen.* By chance the Owner of the Oxen was there; who being glad that he had apprehended the Thief, presently accus'd him, so that the poor Fellow being Convicted of the Fact by his own Confession before so many Witnesses, was constrain'd to restore the Oxen, and undergo a severe Punishment beside.

But as the *Habessines* are generally of a soft and mild Disposition, for the most part, so soon as they have committed any notable Offence, they presently run to their Confessors, and confessing they have sinn'd, desire to receive the Communion for the quiet of their Consciences. But this they do not do, till they come to be at least Five and twenty years of Age. For till then they prolong their years of Indiscretion, pretending Childish Innocence. So that if a Young man die before he be Twenty years old, they bewail him in these words, *Oh! let my Soul be like the Soul of this Innocent.* So great a Confidence they have in the honest Inclinations of their Youth.

The whole Divine Service of the *Ethiopians* is compleated by the sole Administration of the Sacrament, and reading some few broken parcels of Chapters out of the New Testament: for they neither make use of Sacred Hymns nor of Preaching. Which when we seem'd to wonder at, *Gregory* ask'd me, *Whether we thought our Preachers could speak any thing better then what was written in the Sacred Scripture, or the Homilies of the Fathers of the Primitive Church? Whether we thought their Sayings more efficacious than the Word of God? Whether we did not fear, lest those Preachers should utter something which might be repugnant to our Faith and Salvation, which might prove of dangerous Consequence, especially among the Plebeian and rustic sort of People?* We answer'd, That the Worship of God requir'd it; and that the use and end of

Preaching

Preaching was at large ſet forth in Scripture ; to the end we might underſtand the benefit of them. But the *Ethiopians* to ſupply this defect, have Compos'd ſeveral Liturgies and Homilies, of which mention has been already made. To theſe they add ſeveral Portions of Scripture uſually appointed to be read, which are fourfold, out of the Evangeliſts, the Acts, the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and the reſt of the Canonical Epiſtles ; to which they give the Titles of *Wengel*, the *Evangils*, *Gheber*, the *Acts*, *Paulus*, and *Hawarja* the Apoſtle. But in the general Liturgy, which they call *Canon Kedaſi*, the *Canon of the Maſs*, there are all their Ceremonies to be found, with all their Prayers accuſtom'd to be apply'd to the ſeveral Varieties of Duties to be perform'd ; all their Inſtruments and Veſſels being ſanctify'd by certain Prayers and Ejaculations. For in the Sanctuary ſtands the *Holy Table*, which they call *Kedeſat Terphez*, vulgarly *Manbar*. It differs from their Common Tables, for that you may go round about it, and place what you pleaſe upon it. Only it is cover'd with a Canopy, ſuſtain'd with four Pillars at each Corner. Upon this they place the Sacred Veſſels. Firſt the *Tabot*, or *Cheſt* : A little Table ſo call'd ; but the reaſon why, I never yet could find ; for that it has no reſemblance of a Cheſt ; it being an Oblong Quadrangular Table, upon which the Diſh and the Cup are ſet ; and therefore I muſt repair to conjecture, which I ſhall willingly ſubmit to the Judgment of the Learned.

The moſt ancient Chriſtians, when for almoſt three Ages together, they could not have the Opportunity of Adminiſtring or receiving the Communion in Public, were conſtrain'd to take their Opportunities in Dens and Caves ; but for the moſt part in the Church-yards, in the ſilence of the Night. To which purpoſe, they either carry'd the Bread, Wine, Cup, and other Utenſils wrapp'd up in Linnen, or otherwiſe conceal'd to the place where the Congregation met. Whence it ſeems very probable to me, that they might make uſe of the Coffins themſelves, or ſome Cheſt in the faſhion of a Bier, to conveigh their Sacred Utenſils, under the pretence of carrying forth their Dead. Which Cheſt being thus conveigh'd into the Church yard or Cave where they met, ſerv'd alſo inſtead of a Table, about which the Communicants ſate, and receiv'd in their Order. If they found any Bones of the Holy Martyrs ſcatter'd about,

they

they gather'd them up, and put them up in this Chest, which Custom in after Ages became a Law. If they were driven from their Habitations, or constrain'd for fear of Tyrannical fury to seek new abodes, this Chest was still carry'd from place to place, where the Bishop or Presbyter resided, who was to perform the Sacred Duty. And thus they came to be call'd either Chests by their proper Names, or Tables in reference to their Use, the Name of Altar growing out of Mind. For so *Minutius Felix*; *D'ye think*, says he, *that we conceal the Deity whom we serve, because we have not Temples and Altars*, properly so call'd? Afterwards they began in respect of the Oblations to be call'd Altars. But in process of Time, when the Sacrament came to be Administer'd without controul, there happen'd a great Change. For that some thought it not lawful to perform the Sacred Duty, otherwhere then at those wooden Chests, which long Custom had now made *Religious*. And therefore being brought forth of the Caves where they had been Consecrated, they were set apart for the Administration of the Eucharist; and it is not unlikely, that in regard they were to be plac'd upon low Tables, they were made the more plain, and the lesser, that they might be more fit for use; till at length they came to be made like the Tables themselves; so that now the form being chang'd, the name only appears among the *Ethiopians*. But after that, when Christians began to rear great and stately Fabricks, those Arks or Chests together with the Tables, were plac'd in the Sanctuary; and in most Churches the Name of *Table* remain'd; but in Latin Church the Name of *Altar*, as the more worthy and decent Appellation prevail'd.

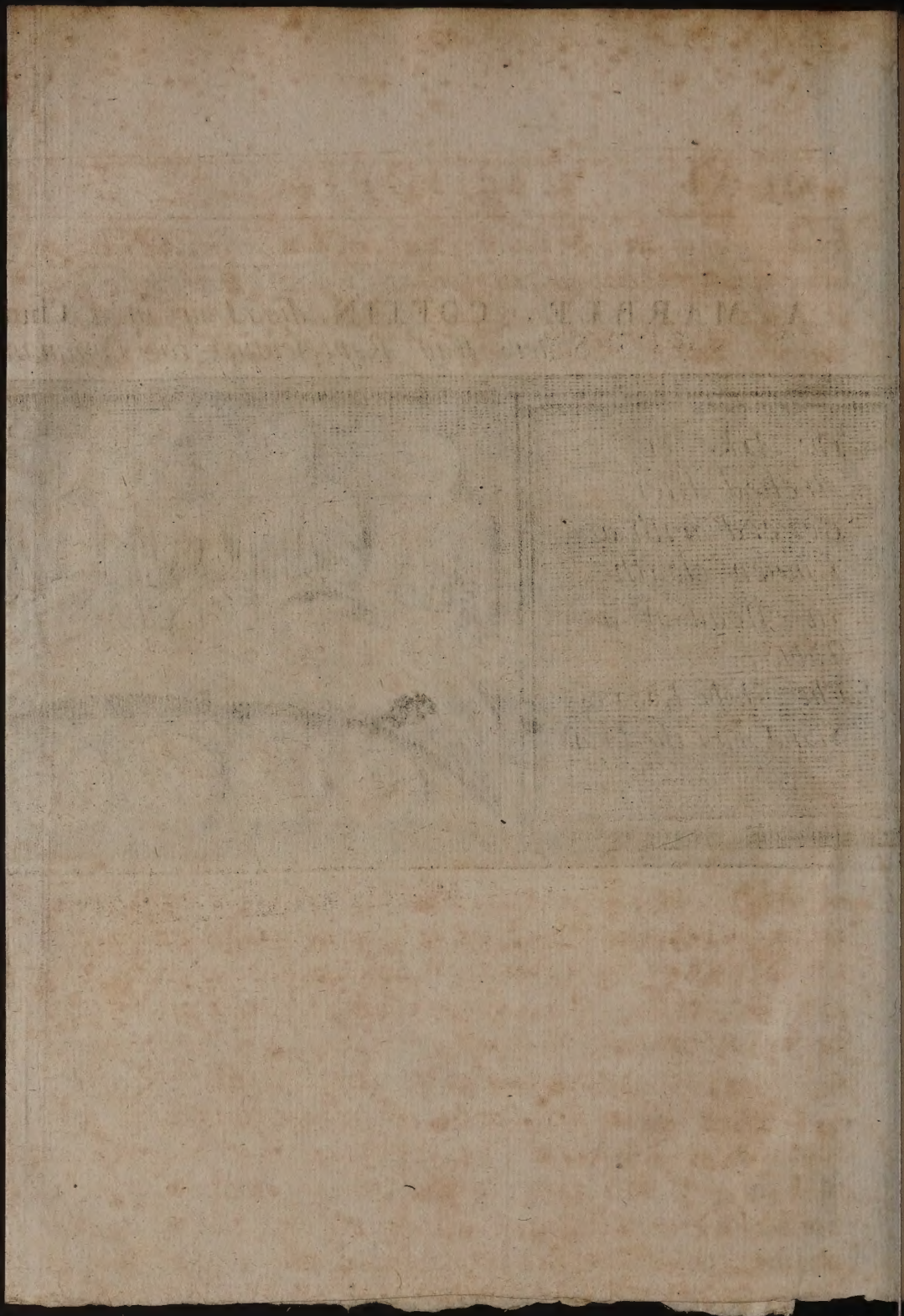
But this was an establish'd Custom among the Ancients, That the Basis upon which the Sacred Vessels were to be set, should be first consecrated. Whence it came to pass, that the *Tables* or *Altars* themselves were consecrated; and so the use of those Arks or Chests ceas'd. But where there were no Altars, or that the question was, whether they were consecrated or no, there the Greeks had their *Antimensæ*, or little Crickets; the Latins, their *Portalia* or small Portative Tables, which they set upon those Altars that were not consecrated. But for the *Ethiopians*, they make use of their Chest and their Table both together; to the end the Service may be the more fully and absolutely

perform'd, and nothing left undon. Now in regard theſe Cheſts were formerly made of Wood, it was not material what ſort of Wood. But after the Popes had commanded that the Altars ſhould be made of *Parget*, the little Portative Altar was alſo made of the ſame matter, for that reaſon call'd *Lapis Sacratus*, or the *Conſecrated Stone*. The little Cheſt which the *Ethiopians* uſe, is generally of Wood, though they do not Prohibit thoſe that are made of Stone, or caſt Metal. However the Fathers of the Society would not permit them to make uſe of any but of Stone; the reſt they either burnt or melted down.

Now the better to ſupport and give credit to Conjecture, and to ſhew that the Primitive Chriſtians had beſides their plain and fix'd Tables, real Cheſts, like Cheſts of Drawers, we ſhall produce a Marble Monument digg'd up in one of the Chriſtian Church-yards. Which, if you obſerve it, is like a Trunk or arched *Bier*, cover'd with a Linnen Cloth in folds, not a Half-Moon Table like a C. as *Aringhus* imagin'd. Neither am I apt to believe that they who ſate about it were celebrating their *Love Feaſts*, but the Holy Communion. Which is plain from the Sacred Loaves that are there repreſented, ſign'd with a *Saltir Croſs*, which the *Ethiopians* ſtill uſe in the Holy Communion. *Thuanus*, it ſeems, ſaw one of thoſe ſort of Altars, when he came to *Aux* in the Province of *Armagnac*, and deſcribes them to be like certain Cheſts. *Here*, ſays he, *we view'd the Temple of St.* Orentius, *of moſt remote Antiquity, where we beheld ſeveral Altars plac'd up and down in the Temple, being the Coffins of the Martyrs, round about which the Chriſtians formerly held their Meetings; not plain and level like our Tables, but riſing with a kind of Gibboſity, in the manner of a Trunk lidd: which were marked with two Greek Letters,* (χ·χ) *repreſenting the Name of Chriſt.* With *Thuanus* agrees *Gabriel Biel*, who diſcourſing of Wooden Altars, *Nor is it contradictory*, ſays he, *to what has bin ſaid before, that there is a Wooden Altar in the Lateran Church, which Altar is preſerv'd out of a particular Reverence to the Prince of Apoſtles, and the preceding Holy Martyrs, who were ſaid to have Celebrated the Holy Communion upon that Altar. This Altar was fix'd by Biſhop* Silveſter, *to the end that no Perſon, unleſs the Pope himſelf ſhould preſume to make uſe of it, for the Celebration of Divine Service. But the rage of Perſecution continuing from the time that the Prince of the Apoſtles was Biſhop, till the Pontificate of* Silveſter, *there was no*

fix'd

A MARBLE COFFIN. *digg'd up in a* Church Yard *nere the high:way, cálld Priſcillas Salter's Way Repreſenting the Communion of ye Ancients in a Caue. Book 3d Chap 6 P 296*



fix'd Episcopal See, So that they were forc'd to perform holy Duties either in Caves or other private places upon a wooden Altar, in the form of a hollow Chest, which was carry'd about by the Priests, wherever the Roman *Bishop kept his secret Habitation.* Which is confirm'd by *Father Tellez*, who thus writes, where he Discourses concerning the *Chest* made use of by the *Ethiopians.*

Moreover 'tis well known, that in the Infancy of the Catholic Church, the Altars were of Wood, like little Chests, and there were no other Altars of Stone, till the time that Silvester *began to Consecrate Altars of kind. However he left remaining in the Cathedral of St.* Peters, *others say in St.* John Laterano, *a little wooden Chest, which for so many years had bin the Altar which so many Pious Popes had made use of, and upon which it is not lawful at this day for any Person but the Pope himself to Celebrate.*

Thus the Studious Reader may perceive frequent mention to have bin made of these *Chests*; and if the *little Chest* of which *Tellez* has given us a Relation, be still Extant at *Rome*, there can be no room left for any farther doubt concerning the Matter or the Form: and our Conjecture concerning their Original will stand good, till the Learned shall give us better Information. Now, that the *Martyrs* Bones were anciently put into these *Chests*, we gather from the *Council of Carthage*, which approves and confirms the Custom. For so runs the 14 Canon of the *Fifth* by Name, but *Third* in Order of Time. The Altars, *In which* (he doth not say *above*, nor *under*) *there are no Reliques of Martyrs, shall be remov'd.* Neither could those Bones be dispos'd of in Tables, nor in the Altars, so call'd, of the Ancients. And in this we have bin the more prolix, to the end the Original and Use of the *Ethiopic Chest*, appropriated to the Communion, might be the better understood.

The other holy Vessels are *Pahal*, the *Dish*, *Tzevae*, the *Cup*, and Spoon for distribution of the Wine, call'd *Eref Maskel*, the *Spoon of the Cross*; by reason that the handle ends in a little Cross. Besides these, they have their consecrated *Urns* and *Censors*, in regard they frequently fume with Frankincense, which Necessity constrain'd them to do while they were forc'd to make use of Caves and Subterraneal Places.

In the Administration of the Sacrament, they use a sort of leaven'd Bread (as was done in the Latin Church for many

Ages) Mark'd with a Croſs ✝, imprinted into the Maſs of the Loaf. This Bread they call *Korban*, and Bake it new every day, admiring at the Latins for keeping their Holy Bread till the Morrow. But upon the Fifth Holy-day of the great Week, in Memory of Chriſt's unleaven'd Loaves, they alſo uſe unleaven'd Bread; pieces of which the Prieſt diſtributes to the Communicants. For they all participate of one Loaf. The Wine is by the *Deacon* given out of the Cup in a Spoon indifferently to all, as well Layety, as Clergy. True it is, they want real Wine; the defect of which they ſupply by ſteeping the bruis'd Stones of *Raiſins* in Water, and then ſqueezing and ſtraining the Infuſion, which makes a kind of *Raiſin* Liquor. Yet not believing it thus made to be ſmall enough, the *Subdeacon* pours a Spoonful or two of Water into the hollow of the Communicants hand, with which he firſt waſhes his mouth, and after that, ſups it up. *Tellez* will not allow this Liquor to be other then meer Water; and for that reaſon laughs at the *Habeſſines*, for believing they Communicate in both kinds, when they Communicate in neither; tho the Fathers of the Society, for want of Wine, were forc'd to uſe the ſame Liquor in the former Age. Which *Sandovall* calls a Holy and Provident Invention. Moſt certain it is that many Countreys, eſpecially inhabited by barbarous People, and remote from the Sea, are deſtitute of Wine; as the *Copts* in *Egypt*, and the Chriſtians of the Order of St. *Thomas* in *India*. Nay, ſome there were, who were put to harder ſhifts than all this: having no other way but to dip a linnen Cloth in Wine, when they could come at it, and dry it again. This Cloath they kept very charily, and when they had an occaſion to Adminiſter the Sacrament, they moiſten'd a part of the Cloath in water, and wrung the moiſture out again with their hands. Which water ſo reliſh'd and tinctur'd, they gave to the People.

Theſe Shifts Pope *Julius* condemns, however in a caſe of Neceſſity, he permits the cluſter it ſelf to be ſqueez'd into the Cup, and the Liquor to be mix'd with water.

The time of receiving the Sacrament, is left to every man's liberty; ſome receive every Week, ſome every Month; but always within the Church. For they hold it a great Sin to carry the Holy Myſteries out of the Church into private Houſes: Neither does the King, nor the Metropolitan aſſume to themſelves that Priviledge. They never ſpit,

that

that day they have receiv'd. They also receive Fasting, and toward the Evening too, if it be a fasting day.

But now to Administer the Sacrament in large and crowded Churches, and upon Solemn days, it requires four or five Men at least. *Bahen*, the *Priest*; or *Kasis*, the *Presbyter*. *Nefek Kasis*, the *Sub-Presbyter*; *Daj-kan*, the *Deacon*; and *Nefeh Dajkan*, the *Sub-Deacon*. There are also present other Assistants, to hold the Candles, and to attend upon the Priests. These every one taking his particular part, perform the whole Duty, reading of several Prayers, as the variety of Action, and the use of distinct Vessels require. Lastly, they recommend both the *Living* and the *Dead* to God, which they call *receiving the Dapdukon*, the *Diptych*, or *Church Register*; which among the Ancient Greeks, consisted of two Tables, wherein the Name of those were written, who were to be Pray'd for in the Register. There are some that bring their Offerings to the Holy Table, as Bread, Oyl, Tithes, first Fruits, and the like; which at the Conclusion of the Sacrament, are distributed to the Poor. Which I take to be understood of that ancient Custom mention'd by *Claudius*, in his *Confession of Faith*. *Vangaber Bat Mesah*, *that day*, meaning the Sabbath, we make a Charitable Feast. These Holydaies they keep two days every Week; that is to say, upon the Sabaoth and the Lord's-Day. That they call *Sanbat Ejehude*, which they say they celebrate in commemoration of the professed Creation, and therefore they do not keep it so solemnly as the Lord's-Day. But upon the Lord's-Day, which they call *Sanbat Ehad*, or the Sabbath of the first Holyday; or *Ehude*, the *first Holyday*, singly, or *Sanbat Christejan*, the Christians Sabbath, they keep after the custom of the Catholic Church, and read over all the Offices and Services requir'd.

They have no Bells of Brass, or mix'd Metal like ours; instead of which, they only use a kind of hollow Vessels resembling Bells, made of Iron, Stone, or Wood, more for Noise, than delightful to the Ear. Neither is their Church Music any thing more pleasing. For besides that, the Voices of their Singing Priests, whom they call *Dabetra*, are very harsh and ungrateful, the Instruments they make use of after the *Egyptian* manner, such as Cimbals, Morrice Bells, and Kettle Drums, which the Grandees themselves think no dishonour to rattle upon those Solemnities, are no way

way agreeable to the Harmony of *Europe*. With their Musick they use Skipping and Dancing, in imitation of *David* Dancing before the Ark of the Covenant. At what time they make the Floor ring again after such a rude manner, that you would believe them rather at a Wedding, than at a Christian Solemnity. This they call *exulting*, *rejoycing*, and *clapping hands to the God of* Jacob, as they are commanded in the Psalms; and this they call Praising God upon the Harp and Organ, and with *Cymbals*, tho it cannot be said they are so sweet sounding as those in *David*'s Time may be imagin'd to be. Which things tho they seem to us, not to correspond with the gravity of Christian Worship, yet will not they much admire, who well know, that in some places among the Latins, the Feast of the Body of God was solemniz'd with Dancing; which as it could not be done without Musick, there were others that play'd in disguise before the Dancers upon Harps.

Fasting days are no where more exactly observ'd. Not that they abstain from some Meats, and gluttonize upon others. For that they look upon as a mockery of Fasting. For they keep themselves whole dayes without either Food or Drink, even till Sunset of the third Evening. Others there are that abstain the two Holydaies of the Passion Week. The Monks put themselves upon greater Extremities than all this; by which means they not only mortifie but destroy. Besides all which they fast twice in seven days, upon the Fourth and Sixth Holyday, like the rest of the Eastern Churches. The reason of which was by *Tzagazaab* said to be, for that the Fourth day the Murther of Christ was concluded upon, and the Sixth it was executed; according to what many of the Ancients taught. But we believe that these two Fasting-days, as many other things, were admitted and observ'd in imitation of the *Jews* by the Primitive Christians, who were either *Jews*, or else had learn't from the *Jews*, that this Custom was introduc'd and us'd as a Duty both Pious and Necessary for these times. For the *Jews* fasted twice in a Week; which is that which the Pharisee boasted, *I fast twice upon the Sabbath*, that is within the two days in seven, *viz.* upon the Second and Fifth Holyday; which the Christians, because they would not fast upon the same day with the *Jews*, alter'd for the Fourth and Sixth. Afterwards *Innocent*, and *Gregory* the Seventh, abrogating the Fast of the Fourth Holyday, impos'd

pos'd Abstinence from Flesh upon *Sunday*, not minding the ancient Canon, *If any Clergy-man shall be known to Fast upon any Sabbath or Lord's-Day, one excepted, let him be suspended from his Office.*

That one Sabbath is *Easter Eve.* Otherwise to fast upon the Lord's-Day, the *Ethiopians* account it Criminal, like the ancient Christians; as *Tertullian* witnesses. Besides these, and other Fasts of the Eastern Church, they observe in the first place, the Forty days *Lent*, which they make up Fifty. For it begins Ten days before the Roman *Lent*; That is, upon the second Holyday after *Sexagesima Sunday.* And this as a Command of God, they observe both healthy and sick People, most exactly and religiously; only as we said before, upon *Sundays* they eat Flesh. After *Easter*, they supply the pinching hardship and sobriety of the past Weeks with the Jollity and Mirth of those that succeed. For during all the time of *Pentecost*, so formerly was the interval of the Fifty days call'd, (from the Feast of the Resurrection till the Feast of sending the Holy Gost) they spend their time in all manner of Feasting and Jocundry, suitable to the Country. All that time, as of old with the Latins, so among the *Ethiopians*, being still observ'd as one continu'd Festival. *Gregory* considering these things, and admiring that the Protestants in *Germany* observ'd no other Fasts, but what were commanded by their Princes in case of Public Calamity; was answer'd out of St. *Ambrose*; *we do not Fast because the Lord abideth with us, not only those Fifty days, but all the year long, nay as long as we live.* Thus Christ answer'd them, who objected to his Disciples.

Can the Sons of the Bridegroom mourn while the Bridegroom is among them. But the time shall come, that the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then they shall fast.

Therefore the ancient Christians, when those days came that Christ had foretold, that is to say, the days of Persecution and Affliction, did well and truly in that they frequently fasted. But we, in regard our Bridegroom is return'd with his favour and his Grace, and has restor'd Peace and Tranquillity to his Church, have no need to observe set Fasts as necessary; but to say with St. *Ambrose*, *That true Fasting is an alienation from Incontinency of Language, Suppression of wrath and ill Desires, and Abstinence from Slander and Reproach.* And with St. *Austin*, *The Great and General Fasting is to abstain from*

from Iniquity, and the unlawful Pleasures of the Age, which is perfect Fasting.

Besides the Sabbath and Lord's-Day, they observe all the chief and ancient Festivals of the Catholic Church; The *Annunciation, Nativity, Circumcision, Baptism, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension,* and the *Descension* of the Holy Ghost, call'd *Bagnab Arbgna,* or the Feast of Forty days; as also that most ancient Festival of the Primitive Church call'd *Rakeb,* in the Middle of the Pentecost, by the Latins call'd *Cantate,* at what time the Bishops are commanded to assemble a Synod, by the Canons commonly call'd *Apostolical.* As for the other Festivals, which were introduc'd by the *Kopts, Greeks* or *Latins,* after the Variances of the Council of *Chalcedon,* some they admit, some they receive, according as they think most agreeable to their Religion.

They begin in the year from the Calends of *September,* with the *Greeks, Armenians, Russians,* and other Oriental Christians. For they believe that the World was created at the time of the Autumnal Equinoctial. They farther also compute Five thousand and five hundred years to the *Nativity,* Eight years less than the Greeks, and they who follow the Translation of the *Seventy Interpreters,* from whence that Computation was made. The Supputation of the Christians is the same, which *Scaliger* says was therefore don, because the Christians believe the World to be less ancient by Eight years then the Greeks do, but he does not apply his reason home. We are apt to believe it came to pass through some erroneous Substraction of the years of the World. For that finding perhaps that the Greeks, to perfect the Calculation of the Years of Christ, had substracted 5508 years of the World; they also did the same, forgetting that those Eight years were already wanting; or else having settl'd the years of Christ, according to the Greek Computation, and coming afterwards to reform the Age of the World, they found these Eight years to be over and above. However it fall out, let any one year of Christ be granted by them, Eight years must be added to their Computation, if you desire to know the agreeing time of any certain Transaction.

Their year consists of Twelve Months, as among us; But each Month, as among the *Egyptians* having but Thirty days; therefore to supply the *Solar* Year, to every Three years they add Five days, to every Four years Six days; which by

a word borrow'd from the Greek they call *Pagomen*. Hence it happens, that their Feasts go according to the *Julian* Accompt, and fall upon the same days; yet are otherwise number'd. For the Feast of the Nativity of Christ is celebrated the same day with us, which happens among the *Europeans* using the *Julian* Accompt, to be upon the 25 of *December*, but with them falls upon the 28 of *December*. Neither did the Catholic Church in any part of the World ever observe it upon any other days; So that it is to be admir'd that *Scaliger* should go about to Translate it into Autumn. It is farther observable, that to the space of Four years they give the Denomination of one of the Evangelists; it being the Custom to finish the reading of one Evangelist quite through in that time. Which is the reason that in some of their Chronological Computations, you shall find added, *in the days of* Mark, *in the days of* John *the Evangelist*, &c.

As to what concerns their Nuptial Rites, most certain it is, that *Polygamy* is not allow'd by the *Habessine* Church, however it be tolerated by the Civil Magistrate. For they that Marry more than one are not punish'd by the Magistrates, yet they are prohibited from the Holy Sacrament: as being of those sort of People, that do no injury to the Common-wealth, but only contradict the Rules of Christian Sanctity; as if it were not the Office or Duty of Kings and Princes, but of the Bishops of the Church to make Men Godly and Christianly vertuous. This *Alvarez* asserts upon his own Knowledge: Whose Host at *Dobarra* had Three Wives which had brought him Seven and thirty Children; for which there was no other notice taken of him, but only that he was not admitted to the Church, or to the Communion, until he at last put Two of them away. Here it may not be improper to inquire how the Metropolitan behaves himself toward their Kings, who have more Wives than one. For the *Habessinian* Kings, by vertue of an old Ill custom, besides several Wives lawfully Marry'd, are not asham'd to keep several Concubines; as if they did it in imitation of *Solomon*, from whom they boast their Descent. True it is, That the Fathers of the Society would not grant Absolution to *Susneus*, before he had dismiss'd all his Supernumerary Wives, retaining only the first. Indeed it is to me no small wonder, that the Laws of the Church, and the

Kingdom ſhould no better agree; that the one ſhould be ſo looſe in point of Marriages, the other ſo ſtrict; eſpecially where the diſpute ariſes, not ſo much as to the Matter, as to the Name. Thus we find the Marriages of Kindred forbidden, even to diſtant degrees; for that the *Ethiopians* wanting terms of diſtinction, call one another all by the Names of Brothers and Siſters. Thus a Church-man may not Marry his Brother's Wife, but a Lay Perſon may. However no Marriages but thoſe that are approv'd by Divine Authority, are honour'd with Sacerdotal Benediction; nor thoſe neither publickly in the Church, unleſs they be ſuch Clergymen, to whom the *Hallelujah* is Sung. Other People are Marry'd either at home, or before the Dores of the Church. However all Secular Perſons have alſo this Priviledge, that they can throw off the Yoke when they pleaſe. For upon any ſlight Difference between a Man and his Wife, if they cannot be reconcil'd, the King's Judges preſently diſſolve the Marriage. But as for the Clergy, if it be their deſire to put away their Wives, or to Marry another, the firſt being Deceas'd, they are oblig'd to renounce their Function. Whereby it happens, that their Marriages are much more peaceful, and more durable.

To conclude with their Burials, the Dead Bodies being well waſh'd and fum'd with Incenſe, they wrap them up in proper Garments. If the Party deceas'd be of Noble Extraction, he is lay'd upon the Bier, cover'd with a Bulls Hide; which done, the Clergy carry him to the Grave, laden with Croſſes, Cenſors, and Holy-water; and that with a pace ſo ſwift, that it is a difficult matter to follow them. The Body is for ſome time ſet down by the Grave, during the reading of a certain Paragraph out of St. *John*'s Goſpel; after which, the Body, being found and ſprinkl'd with Holy *Water*, is not let down, but thrown into the Sepulcher.

King *Claudius* being deſirous to Solemnize the Exequies of *Chriſtopher Gomez*, upon the Anniverſary Day, that he had loſt his Life, for the Recovery of *Abaſſia*, ſummon'd together all the Prieſts, Canons, Monks, and all the Neighbouring Poor People; and to the firſt, being about Six hundred, he gave a Royal Funeral Supper; to the laſt, being about Six thouſand, he diſtributed a large and noble Alms. They on the other ſide recited the whole Pſalter quite thorough, and made the Sky ring with innumerable *Allelujahs*, a Ceremony, that

ſerves

serves alike as well upon sad, as joyful Occasions. Thus when *Marcus*, the Eldest Son of *Susneus*, was Buried, they sounded forth,

Marcus *is Dead, Hallelujah,*
Marcus *is Dead, Hallelujah.*

And this they repeated so often and so loud, that the Fathers, but newly then arriv'd in *Ethiopia*, were astonish'd to hear such an unwonted cry; not being able to tell, whether the *Ethiopians* rejoyc'd, or lamented. So strangely are all Nations delighted with their own Customs.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Constitution and Form of Ecclesiastical Government in Ethiopia, *as also of the Priviledges of the Clergy.*

The Clergy enjoy no immunity. Their Head or Abuna *created by the Metropolitan of* Alexandria. *His Place in Councils. The present State of the* Alexandrian *Church deplorable. The Clergy ignorant, the Patriarch Illiterate. The* Habessine *Metropolitans ordain the Clergy only. No Bishops, nor Arch Bishops. The* Icegue *governs the Monks. They acknowledge but four Oecumenical Patriarchs. The Catalogue of Metropolitans incertain. They do not reck'n these sent by the Pope. After* Mendez, *one call'd the* Cophtit. *His Successors. The Orders of Deacon, Presbyter, and Sub-Presbyter. The Clergy Marry, but not twice.*

WE have already declar'd, That the Supream Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs, is invested in the King. Therefore all Ecclesiastical Causes, except only in very slight Matters, are all determin'd by the King's Judges. Neither do the *Clergy* or *Monks* enjoy any sort of Ecclesiastical Immunity, or Priviledge of Exemption. Nor does the Canon, *Siquis suadente diabolo, hujus Sacrilegii reatum incurrerit, quod in Clericum vel Monachum violentas manus injecerit*, &c. help them at all, but that upon offences committed they are punish'd, as Lay Persons, by the Secular Judges: And many times they are sensible of the rough and violent hands of wicked Men, without any fear of Excom-

munication. But as to what concerns the *Law of Order*, or the *Dioceſan Law*, thoſe things are left to the Clergy. Their Chief Head is call'd *Papas*, or *Metropolitan*. Tho the Title or Sirname of *Abuna*, that is to ſay, *Our Father*, be more frequently given him. He by ancient Cuſtom, at the King's deſire, is Conſecrated to that Dignity by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and ſent out of *Egypt* into *Ethiopia*. For they do not think it fitting for the Patriarch to nominate any one out of their own Nation, tho never ſo skilful in their Language, Laws and Cuſtoms. It being provided by thoſe *Nicene* Canons, extant in the Arabic Language, *That the* Ethiopians *ſhall not Elect or Create a Patriarch, but that their chief Chief Prelate ſhall be under the Jurisdiction of Him that reſides at* Alexandria. And a little after, *That if the Council be held in* Greece, *and the Prelate of* Ethiopia *be preſent, he ſhall have the ſeventh place, next the Prelate of* Seleucia. For they are very obſtinate in maintaining their old Cuſtoms, tho it happen to be one of their greateſt Misfortunes. The State and Condition of the *Alexandrian* Church, being quite different now from what it was formerly; that is to ſay, altogether miſerable and deplorable. For both the Patriarch and his Clergy, are a poor ſort of contemptible and ruſtic People, and void of all common Endowments. They are as it were the Servants and Slaves of the *Turks*, whoſe continual vexations ſo terrifie them from undertaking Eccleſiaſtical Employment, that many times they receive their Ordination by conſtraint, and with Tears in their Eyes; which requires nothing more from them than to read *Arabic*.

For the *Coptic*, or ancient *Egyptian* Language, as it was ſpoken in the times of the *Grecian* Kings, and as *Athanaſius Kirker* has given a view of it to the *Europeans*, is now almoſt buried in Oblivion. Their Churches are either all deſtroy'd, or very near to Ruin; the *Turks* not ſuffering them either to Rebuild or Repair. The Patriarch, if he can but only read and write, and underſtand the Scripture after an ordinary manner, is thought ſufficiently worthy of St. *Mark's Chair*. Hence it may be eaſily conjectur'd, what ſort of Perſons are ſent into *Ethiopia* for the Government of ſo many Churches. In the time of the Fathers of the Society, there was ſent ſuch a ſad Tool into *Habeſsinia*, to be the *Abuna*, that being rejected for his Simplicity, he was forc'd to Grind Corn for his living. To whom another Succeeding, not much better gifted,

gifted, gave occasion to the Courtiers to jest, and cry, *We have a Miller still.* Now as these Patriarchs know very little, so they do as little, only in set forms of Words, they ordain Under-Clercs, just as wise and learned as themselves.

For this reason the Fathers of the Society, little regarded the Ordinations of the *Abuna*, but when any of the *Abessine* Priests came over to them, they ordain'd them again after the *Roman* manner, not without the great resentment and indignation of the rest.

In none of their Kingdoms or Provinces have they any *Bishops* or *Arch-Bishops.* So that unless the *Icegue*, with the assistance of his Monks, had taken some care of the Church, all thought of Religion had fallen to the ground long e're this.

This *Abuna* is by some, tho improperly call'd *Patriarch*, his truer Title being that of *Bik Papas*, or *Bik Papaste*, Prince or Master of the Metropolitans; of whom they acknowledge only Four to be of equal Power and Dignity among themselves. Among these they reckon the *Roman* Patriarch to be the First, and call him *Bik Papaste Zaromeja*, or the *Roman Patriarch.* For they have no higher Title to give to any one who may be thought Superior to a Patriarch.

The first Metropolitan of *Habessinia* was *Frumentius*, the Ethiopic Apostle. From him to *Simeon*, who dy'd with *Elius* in defence of the *Alexandrian* Religion, they reck'n in order Ninety five Metropolitans. We have not yet seen the Catalogue, but in the Ethiopic Register, they are Number'd up in this Order.

Abuna *Abba Matthew.*
Abba Salama.
Abba Jacob.
Abba Bartholomew.
Abba Michael.
Abba Isaac.
Abba John.
Abba Mark, who was Metropolitan in the Time of *David.*

Abba Joseph,

In the Reign of *Claudius* was receiv'd into the Kingdom with great Pomp; without any regard had to *John Bermudes*, whom

whom the Pope had sent into *Abessinia*, with the Titles of Patriarch of *Alexandria* and *Ethiopia*. As little respect did the *Habessines* give to *John Nonius Barret*, and *Andrew Ovieda*, Portugueses, dignify'd at *Rome* with the Titles of *Patriarch*, and sent into *Ethiopia* by the King of *Portugal*. About the beginning of this last Century, one *Peter*, upheld by the Factious Party, withstood *Za-Denghel*, who favour'd the Romanists. In the Time of *Susneus*, *Simeon*, already mention'd, came into the Kingdom, who being Slain, and the Miller depos'd, *Alphonsus Mendez* was by the Pope at the Instance of the Fathers of the Society, preferr'd, and by the *Abessinians* admitted to be their Patriarch, tho not acknowledg'd under any other Title then that of *Abuna Zaromeja*, or the *Roman Abuna*. But he, together with his Companions being soon after expell'd, another call'd the *Cophtit* was sent, in whose Company *Peter Heyling* of *Lubeck* travelled to the *Habessine* Court. To him succeeded one *John*, and about the year 1651. another call'd *Mark*, who being depos'd for his vitious life, *Michael* succeeded him. Lastly, about the year 1662. one *Gabraxos* was order'd to supply his Decease.

As for the Cathedrals or Principal Churches, they have their chief *Overseers*, which they call *Komasat*. Such a *Komos* was *Peter* the *Ethiopian*, whose acquaintance was courted by *Paulus Jovius*. It is their Duty to take care of the Secular Matters of the Churches, and to compose the differences between the Clergy men, so far as their Jurisdiction extends. Over the Churches that belong to the Camp, the *Debtera Gueta* Presides, as much as to say, the *Ruler of the Canons*.

The *Debterat*, or Canons, being those Persons who are particularly employ'd in those Offices that require the addition of Hymns and Sacred Melody. The *Nebrat* seems to be their *Dean*. Next to whom in Dignity are the *Kasis* or *Presbyter*, and the *Nepheh Kasis*, or Sub-Presbyter; the *Dejakon* or Deacon, and *Nepheh Dejakon*, or Sub-Deacon. As for those *Under-Ministers*, which in the Primitive Church were known by the Name of *Readers*, they are quite out of Use: as are also *Deaconesses*, of which however they have the greatest need, by reason of the frequent Baptizings of full-grown Women, to whom their assistance, while the Ceremony of their Baptism requires them to be naked, is most necessary.

All

All Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, when they walk publickly abroad, carry a Croſs in their hands, and offer it to all they meet to be Kiſs'd, having hardly any other note of Diſtinction from the Layety. The ſame ſort of Croſs the *Seculars* alſo carry, who to the end they may be admitted into the Sanctuary, deſire to be ordain'd Deacons; as alſo moſt young Children.

All the Clergy, except the Monks, are permitted to Marry. Neither will any man deny, but that it was Lawful for the Catholic Biſhops of the Primitive Church, the Presbyters and Deacons to do the ſame; which was alſo upon the Perſuaſion and Arguments of *Paphnutius* a moſt Holy Man, allow'd of and approv'd by the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council, as both *Socrates* and *Sozomenus* teſtifie: whoſe Credit juſtify'd by all Antiquity, was never yet call'd in queſtion; eſpecially being confirm'd by the practice, and ſo many clear and undeniable Preſidents of the Primitive Church, till *Siricius* and *Innocent* the Firſt, took upon them to order it otherwiſe in the Latin Church.

Among the Eaſtern Churches, honeſt and lawful Matrimony was in much more high eſteem, than faithleſs Batchelorſhip, obnoxious to perpetual concupiſcence. Wherefore the *Grecians*, *Armenians*, *Ruſſians*, but more eſpecially our *Ethiopians* not only permitted their Presbyters to Marry, but ſooneſt prefer the Husbands of Wives; inſomuch that the neareſt way to that Preferment is to Marry. For they take the words of the Apoſtle, *Let him be the Husband of one Wife, for a Precept*; yet underſtand it only ſo, as not to extend any farther, but to one ſingle Marriage. And therefore their Clergy never offer to covet repeated Wedlocks, which even by the Seculars were not approv'd in the Eaſtern Churches. The *Novatians* deteſted a ſecond Wedlock after Baptiſm, as equal to the Crime of Adultery. The Latin Fathers alſo gave it an Ignominious Character, reproaching it with the Scandalous Title of honeſt Adultery. But in after Ages, the Matter being more wiſely conſider'd, it was not thought material, whether the ſame Perſon Married one or more Wives, after Death had once made the Seperation; ſo that the Mattimony were lawful; ſince there appear'd no reaſon to the contrary. For which was alleadg'd the famous example of one Woman at *Rome*, that had ſurviv'd the Two and twentieth Wedlock. But the *Habeſsines* ſtill obſerve

observe their ancient Laws: in regard that by the ancient Canons, they that Marry twice, are accompted unworthy of Holy Orders.

Chap. VIII.

Of the Separation of the Habeſſines *from the* Greek *Church, in the Time of the Council of* Chalcedon.

The Council of Chalcedon. Dioſcurus *Condemn'd. From thence the* Melchites, *and* Jacobites. *The great Damage to the Church by that Schiſm. The* Ethiopians *defend* Dioſcurus. *The* Ethiopians *Condemn the Council of* Chalcedon; *and call* Timotheus *and* Eutyches *Hereticks. They acknowledge two Natures in Chriſt. The words* Eſſence, Subſtance, Perſon *and* Nature, *ambiguous to the* Abeſſines. *A doubt concerning the Diſputations of the Fathers with the* Abeſſines *about the two Natures. How they are to be Diſputed with. The* Jacobites *abſtain from the* Arabic *word for* Nature, *which the* Eutychians *uſe. The Diſſention deplor'd.*

THE *Alexandrian* Church remain'd in Unity with it ſelf, and with the *Greek* Church, till the *Council of* Chalcedon, by us call'd the *Fourth Univerſal Council*, which *Marcian* the Emperor Summon'd, to appeaſe the Diſcords and Diſſentions that were riſen among the Biſhops and Divines, by reaſon of the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. This *Eutyches*, a Conſtantinopolitan Abbot aſſerted, *That both the Natures of Chriſt, the Divine and Human, upon his Incarnation, immediately became one and the ſame; and that therefore there was but one Nature, and one Will in Chriſt.* For which reaſon, they that held this Opinion were call'd *Monothelites*. Thereupon it was Decreed in this Council, *That Chriſt was of the ſame Subſtance with the Father, according to his Deity, but Sin excepted; of the ſame Subſtance, and like to us in all things, according to his Humanity. One and the ſame in two Natures united, yet without mixture, mutation, diviſion or diſtance, both Natures acting that which was proper to it, by Communion with each other. Dioſcurus* alſo, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, was condemn'd as a Heretic, & Defender of *Eutyches*; and not only ſo, but being publickly whipp'd, he was ſent into Exile, and another put up in his room, who becauſe he follow'd the Emperors or the Royal Religion,

was

was therefore call'd a *Melchite*, or Royalists according to the *Arabic* word. The Contradicters of this Opinion were call'd *Eutychians*, afterwards *Jacobites* from one *Jacob*, a Syrian, who stoutly defended the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. Hence arose a most fierce and outragious Schism in the Church of *Alexandria*, defil'd with Blood and Slaughter, which was the reason that not only the greatest part of the *Alexandrian* Church was rent and torn from the rest of the Catholic Church; but that *Egypt* also, weaken'd with it's own civil Dissentions, became a Prey to the *Saracens*, who taking advantage of the Discords of the Christians among themselves, overcame and subjugated the upholders of both Opinions: so that now there is little or nothing remaining of Christianity in *Egypt*. Thus our Ecclesiastical Writers.

But the *Ethiopians* relate, that *Dioscorus*, his Successors, and their Followers, heavily complain'd of the Injury done them: for that he never follow'd *Eutyches*, nor ever deny'd nor confus'd the Divinity and Humanity really existing in Christ; only he would not acknowledge the word *Nature* to be common to the Divinity and Humanity of Christ: and that he only endeavour'd to prevent the Asserting of two Persons in Christ, contrary to the Opinion of the Catholic Church, and the Decrees of the Council of *Ephesus*; believing that absurdity would follow, should we admit two Wills and Natures in Christ. Lastly, That the word *Nature*, signifying something Born or Created, did no way quadrate with Divinity, neither could two Wills in two Natures, united without Division, Separation, or Distance be conceiv'd by the understanding of Man: That it was not to be thought that Human Nature exalted to a State of Glory, would desire, act, or suffer, what is suffer'd, acted, or desired in the State of Mortality; or that Humanity in a present State of Glory, should desire or be sensible of that which Divinity was not sensible of or desir'd. Which Opinion of his being heard and understood, it seem'd an idle Question, a meer brangling Dispute, that little deserv'd to be the occasion of so much Enmity among the Christians; as being become rather a Quarrel to be decided by the Sword, and not by Argument. And therefore these things consider'd, it was evident that *Dioscurus*, was neither sufficiently heard nor rightly understood, but in his absence condemn'd as an obstinate Heretick, rather out of Hatred and Envy then by

Law. These and such like things when I heard *Gregory* discoursing, I began to apply my mind more particularly to this Affair, as being willing to know whether he only expressed his own Thoughts, or according to the Opinions and Writings of his own Country Doctors.

In the first place therefore I found it beyond all doubt, that the *Habessines* do reject the Council of *Calcedon*, tho they understand not what was done therein, as having never receiv'd or thought worthy of their Transcription the *Canons* there made. Nevertheless they inveigh most bitterly against the Council, and the Fathers there assembled, and load them with most injurious reproaches, calling them *Mahebar Abdan*, a *Convention of Fools*, & *Qualqedanowejau*, reck'ning the *Chalcedonians* among the worst of Heretics and Malefactors. In the second place, I observ'd them fix'd in this Error, as believing the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* went about to divide the Substance of Christ, and contrary to the preceding Council of *Ephesus*, to make two Persons of one, which they also attribute to the Latins. For this reason they condemn Pope *Leo*, and extol *Dioscurus* to the Skies, as the Champion of the Orthodox Faith, as being the Person, that out of a just and zealous Indignation, tore *Leo's Diploma*, as soon as it was deliver'd to him; and reck'n him among the Number of Martyrs, for suffering himself to be scourg'd, his Teeth struck out, and his Beard pull'd off, for standing to the Truth.

Peace to Dioscurus, *that still reproach'd*
The vain Opinions that the Melkites *broach'd,*
United God dividing into Two:
Then to confirm his Own *in what was true,*
His broken Teeth and Beard torn from his Chin,
Sends round the World t' evince Chalcedon's *spleen.*

They also ascertain themselves of a great reward laid up for Him in Heaven, in recompence of his so rigid Sufferings.

In the third place, I found that they expresly condemn *Eutyches* as a Heretic, but on the other side applaud *Timotheus*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, (whom our Writers affirm to have bin condemn'd in the Sixth general Council) by whose Doctrine, the followers of *Eutyches* were convicted; for so the same Poet, tho otherwise a cruel Enemy of the *Chalcedonian* Fathers writes of him. *They*

They that believ'd the Heretical Doctrine of Eutyches, *were burnt by the Flames of his Expreſsions.*

Tho *Gregory* being demanded what he knew concerning him, made anſwer,

That there were in Ethiopia, *aſwel they who believ'd that* Eutyches *had made a confuſion of the two Natures of Chriſt, as they who believ'd he had not done it.*

Whence it appears that *Eutyches*, not his Errors, is defended by ſome of the *Ethiopians*.

Fourthly, it is apparent, That they acknowledge both *Mabqot* and *Tesbet* the Divinity and Humanity to be both Abſtractively and Conjunctively in Chriſt. Which is as much as to allow two Natures together in Chriſt.

Fifthly, *Tellez* atteſts from the Relation of the Fathers of the Society, that both Natures are to be found in their Books, and imputes it to their Contumacy, that they will not acknowledge in words what they believe concerning the Catholic Truth, when they teach the ſame thing in their Writings, *That the Catholic* Habeſſines *ſuffering Perſecution from the Hereticks, cry'd out,* God and Man, *whereby they both aſſerted the Catholic Faith, and the two Natures in Chriſt.* But more then this, we have the Teſtimony of *Suſneus*, in one of whoſe Orations to his Soldiers, we find that all the *Habeſsines* confeſs, *That Chriſt is the true God, and true Man*; and conſequently, we muſt allow what the *Fathers* of the Society relate, that they acknowledge two Natures in Chriſt.

Sixthly, we are to take notice, That the words which the Greeks uſe, and which the Latines have made uſe of in theſe difficult queſtions of Faith, as *Eſſence*, *Subſtance* or *Subſiſtance*, *Perſon*, *Nature*, among the *Ethiopians* are interpreted by words Equivocal, from whence it is no wonder there ſhould be ſuch a ſpring of Errors. For *Helave*, ſometimes ſignifies *Eſſence*, ſometimes *Hypoſtaſis* or *Subſiſtance*. *Gregory* alſo affirm'd, That there were ſome who aſſert *Qalet Helwejet*, two Eſſences, that is the Divinity and Humanity in Chriſt, and that each Nature retains its proper Eſſence. Others for fear of falling into the *Neſtorian* Error, rather choſe to make uſe of the word *Bakreye*, which properly ſignifies a *Pearl*, affirming there are in Chriſt *Qalit Bahreyat*, two precious Subſtances; in imitation of the *Arabians*, who uſe their own word, which ſignifies a *Pearl*, by which to expreſs the Divine *Subſiſtance*. Which others again diſlike, as being a

word no leſs Equivocal, becauſe it may be taken either for *Subſiſtance* or *Perſon*; as when they of the Son, *Zatwalda embaha reju Baab, who was born of the Subſtance of the Father.* Thus the Author of a certain Manuſcript call'd, *The Eccleſiaſtical Computation* concludes,

Who were witneſs of one Perſon of Chriſt, Synodius *Patriarch of* Alexandria, *&c.*

From whence we gather, that when we from the Council of *Chalcedon* diſpute of the *Nature*, they mean the *Perſon*. Now adays, when they ſpeak of the *Perſon*, they make uſe for the moſt part of the word *Agal*, as being leſs Equivocal; tho ſometime we ſhall meet with the word *Gaz* to ſignifie *Perſon*, ill render'd when taken for the *Countenance* or *Face*. Which Circumſtances, when I read and conſider, I find all things to be perplex'd and obſcure; no certain State of the Queſtion; and the words themſelves without limitation Equivocal. Perhaps *Eutyches* himſelf could not explain what ſort of *Nature* was meant, how it was made out of the *two*? How it was call'd? or what the Qualities of it were? But that he was ſo egregiouſly ſtupid, as to think the two Natures ſo mix'd in Chriſt, as *Water with Wine*, and that he had ſo many Wiſe and Learned Men to follow him in that Opinion, is almoſt incredible. As for the *Ethiopians*, they are moſt certainly not guilty of ſo ſottiſh a Hereſie. For which reaſon I confeſs, I cannot apprehend what theſe frequent Diſputations were, which the Fathers of the Society had with the *Habeſsines*, wherein, they ſay, the *Ethiopians* were always forc'd to ſubmit, as being convicted out of their own Books. Which is the more eaſie to believ'd, in regard they ſo willingly acknowledge the Divinity and Humanity of Chriſt. But that they ſhould out of Contumacy and Heretical Pravity contradict the Fathers, and chooſe to ſuffer Exilements, and other Puniſhments, or run the hazard of Civil Diſſentions, rather than forego their Opinion, is hardly to be credited. To me it ſeems therefore more probable, that they could not agree about the words. For if a man ſhould firſt explain his meaning, and tell them, that by the two Natures in Chriſt, we underſtand as well his Divinity as his Humanity, and then upon this Explanation ask them, *Which Nature was wanting in Chriſt, ſeeing they acknowledge but one?* Certainly they

they would answer, *That neither his Divinity nor his Humanity were wanting; but that both continue and endure for ever.* And thus it will appear, that they understand the word *Nature* far otherwise than we do, and that the true state of the Question among the *Habessines* consists in this, *Whether by any, or by what name both the Abstract Natures* (which undoubtedly they admit) *are to be call'd?* Now therefore because *Tellez* does not say in what Language they Disputed (for the *Habessines* understand neither *Latin* nor *Portuguese*) how they express'd themselves when they mention'd the words *Essence*, *Person*, and *Nature*, how they explain'd Equivocal words, or how the Interpreters render'd them, whether they could not agree upon the common *word*, or whether the word *Substance* displeas'd, as fearing that to grant two *Substances*, would be to grant two Persons, I leave to farther enquiry. Nor can I find out in so much Variety and Ambiguity of words, what word is most proper to be us'd in our sense for the word Nature. For the *Jacobites* when they make use of the Arabic *Tabia*, or the Ethiopic *Tabaje*, which answers to the Greek word *Physis*, and by the *Copts* is call'd *D Physis*, apply it only to things created, more especially to the Elements, but never to the *Godhead*: which the *Melkites* and *Greeks* being destitute of any other, make no scruple to do. Hence the Contention. For thus saith *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, a *Melkite*; In Christ there are,

> *Two Substances, a Substance of Divinity, and a Substance of Humanity; but one Person. To every Substance there belongs a Nature; and so two Substances, two Natures, but one Person.*

For this reason, in *Egypt*, where this unhappy difference still remains, when the *Copts* cry out in Arabic *Mashiah Wahid*, *Tabiah Wahid*, *One Will, one Nature*; the Melkites answer, *Mashiatan tabiahtan*, *Two Wills, two Natures.*

In the year 1634. an *European* of great Quality residing in *Egypt*, and having vievv'd and read the Books of the *Copts*, deliver'd his Opinion afterwards, *That the difference and quarrel of the Parties proceeded more from a fear of the Consequence, than from the Thing it self. For the* Greeks *are for the Destruction of those Hereticks that confuse and mix the Divinity and*

and Humanity of Christ. *The* Cophtites *oppugn those that assert two Persons in Christ.*

Which if it be so, that the Contention and Debate, either formerly, or now, is only about the sence of words, What Tears and Lamentations can suffice to bewail the sad Effects of such an Unfortunate Pedantic Brabble? What breast that lodges a heart so hard, that can refrain from bemoaning the sad and calamitous Contentions of those, to whom Christ has so earnestly recommended the most strict Bonds of Charity by his own Example? Humanity one would think, should not be so inhuman, for the sake of one word *Nature* misunderstood, to tear up the foundations of Concord between those, whose Nature the Eternal Word has assum'd into his most Holy Subsistence. But as it is the Infirmity of our most corrupted Nature, where Ambition, from Ambition Emulation, from Emulation Envy, from Envy Hatred have taken root, that the Mind possess'd with various Passions and Affections, seeks no farther after Truth, hence it is that Men with Ears obstructed, and blinded Eyes, pursue disputes to satisfie their private Ends; not considering the true end of Arguing and Dispute.

Chap.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Differences which happen'd between the Habeſſines *and the Church of* Rome, *more eſpecially the Fathers of the Society to the beginning of this Century.*

The Patriarch of the Melkites *and* Jacobites, *which the* Habeſſines *following, diſunited themſelves from the* Greeks *and* Romans. *They had Knowledge of the Pope.* Alexander *the Third writes to the King of* Ethiopia. *An Embaſſie to* Eugenius *the Fourth, and* Clement *the 7th.* John Bermudes *confirm'd by* Paul *the Third. Whence Hopes of ſubjecting the* Habeſſines *to the See of* Rome. Barret *and* Oviedo *made Patriarchs. They ſend before to ſound the King. They Diſpute with the King concerning Religion. The* Portugueſes *ſuſpected.* Barret *ſtays in* India, Oviedo *kindly receiv'd.* Claudius *acts moderately. Grants Liberty to the* Latins. Oviedo *deſires more. The King delays. Mov'd with* Oviedo's *Epiſtle.* Oviedo *Attempts Severity but in vain. To* Claudius *his Brother Succeeds. The* Latins *Liberty revok'd.* Oviedo *threaten'd.* Melech Saghed *milder to the* Portugueſes. *All their Prieſts Die.*

THE Horrid flames of Diſcord being thus broken forth, all thoſe Nations that were Subject to the Alexandrian *See*, ſeparated themſelves into Parties almoſt equal in Strength. And every Faction choſe its particular Faction. The *Grecian* Chriſtians, who were in Subjection to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperor, adher'd to the Patriarch of the *Melkites*; The reſt who inhabited the innermoſt Parts of *Africa*, and among them the *Axumites*, follow'd the Patriarch of the *Jacobites*; and thus being rent not only from the *Greek*, but *Roman* Church, they had little or no knowledge of either. After this, the Power of the *Saracens* increaſing, and all *Egypt* being by them ſubdu'd, all Correſpondence and Communication of Arts and Knowledge ceas'd between *Them*, and the *Chriſtians* of our part of the World. Nevertheleſs ſome glimpſes they had of the *Roman Pontiffs*, from the Acts of the Ancient Councils, and reverenc'd them as Chief among the Oecunomical Patriarchs. On the other ſide the Pope laying hold of the occaſion, endeavour'd to Re-eſtabliſh the former Correſpondence and Amity, not taking any notice of their being *Monothelites*,

or Favourers of the condemn'd *Dioscurus*. To this purpose *Baronius* has set forth an Epistle taken out of *Roger's English Annals*, written by *Alexander* the Third, with this Superscription. *To our most dear Son in Christ, the Illustrious and Magnificent King of the* Indians, *the most Holy of Priests.* Which Epistle he erroneously believes to have bin written to *Prester John*, whose Dominions were then very large in *Ethiopia*. For that when *Baronius* wrote, the King of the *Habessines* was reputed and commonly taken for *Prester John*. But when *Alexander* the Third liv'd, the real *Prester John* was then reigning in *Asia*. Neither is any thing to be gather'd out of that whole Epistle, that has any Relation to *Africa*, or *Ethiopia*, or the King of the *Habessines*; nor are the Consequences of that Letter known to *Baronius*. Only upon that occasion, he conjectures that the Church of St. *Stephen*, with the Buildings behind St. *Peter's* Cathedral, were thereupon assign'd to the *Habessinians*; though he is not certain by whom that Assignation was made, whether by *Alexander* or any other Succeeding Pope. Therefore, if the Epistle were real, we rather think it was written to the Asiatic *Prester John*, then to the King of the *Ethiopians*. Others there are, that believe there was an *Abessinian* Embassy to *Clement* the Fifth, residing at *Avignon*. Nor is there any doubt made of the Embassy which *Zera-Jacob* sent to *Eugenius* the Fourth, in the year 1439. toward the Conclusion of the Council of *Florence*. *Gregory* had known nothing of it, had he not seen the Embassador and his Retinue painted at *Rome*, and known his own Countrymen by their Habit.

In the former Century, *Francis Alvarez*, Priest to the *Portugal* Ambassadors sent into *Ethiopia*, brought Letters from *David* to *Clement* the Seventh, which he delivered to the Pope in a public Assembly of the Cardinals, *Charles* the Fifth being there also present, promising Reverence and Obedience withal to the Holy See, in the Name of the King of *Ethiopia*. It was a thing very grateful to the Pope, that at a time when so many Northern Nations had revolted from the *Roman* See, so many Kingdoms of the East and South, should voluntarily submit to his Jurisdiction. For which reason, neither *Alvarez's* Credentials, nor the words of the Epistle were over-nicely examin'd, nor any extraordinary Scrutiny made to what Church, or what sort of Religion the King himself was enclin'd, to the end that had it been needful, he might have

have bin absolv'd from the guilt of Heresie, before his Admission into the Bosom of the Church. For as we shall afterwards declare, the *Habessines* made quite another Interpretation of their King's Intention. In the mean time a certain form of Friendship long remain'd. For when *John Bermudes* came to *Rome* to crave Assistance from the *Europeans* in the behalf of *David*, so often vanquish'd by the *Adelans*; *Paul* the Third, hearing that the said *Bermudes* was by *Mark* the Metropolitan, nominated his Successor, and invested with Holy Orders, made no scruple to confirm him, and to ratifie the Ordination of a Schismatical Prelate. There were then residing certain *Habessines*, very good Men, who Printed the New Testament with their Liturgies in the Ethiopic Language, whom the Pope did not only tolerate, but assisted at his own Expences. In recompence of which Kindnesses, they extoll'd and applauded the Benevolence of the *Romans*, the Munificence of the Chief Pontiff, and his Spiritual Daughter *Hyeronyma Farnesia*, and acknowledg'd the Pope as the Head and Supream over all the Orthodox Christians. *Pius* the Fifth also in his Letters to *Menas*, tho a professed Enemy to the *Romans*, call'd him his *most dear Son*; whether he were ignorant of his hatred to the *Latins*, which was a wonder; or whether he had hopes to reclaim him by flattering Titles, which *Godignus* rather conjectures to be the Pope's true Intention. For this reason, some there were who believ'd the *Habessines* to be Catholicks in the highest perfection, and subject to the See of *Rome*; tho *Tellez* deservedly taxes and derides their Credulity. Nevertheless a vain hope had possessed the Minds of many of the more Zealous sort, that that vast Kingdom, then look'd upon to be four times as big as really it was, might in a short time, with little difficulty, be annexed to the Pontifical Jurisdiction. Among the rest, the Founder of the Society of *Jesus*, *Ignatius Loyola*, bent all his Study to bring it to pass, and to that end he shew'd a most Ardent desire to go himself, and win the honour of Converting *Ethiopia*. Which tho *Julius* the Third would not grant him the liberty to do, nevertheless he so far prevail'd with him, that by the connivance of *John* the Third King of *Portugal*, the Patriarchal Dignity was conferr'd upon *John Nonius Barret*, one of his Companions, contrary to the Institutions of his Society, tho *Bermudes* were then in *Ethiopia* already dignify'd with the same Title. With him

was joyn'd *Andrew Oviedo*, a Biſhop, that if *Barret* through Mortality ſhould miſcarry, he might not want an immediate Succeſſor. They, Embarking in ſeveral Ships, ſayl'd into *India*. In the mean time *Claudius* was become Succeſſor to *David* his Father, whoſe affection they thought it firſt expedient to ſound, before the Patriarch ſhould expoſe himſelf to Caſualties and Indignities. *Jacobus Dias* was therefore ſent before, together with *Gonſales Rodriguez*, and *Fulgentio Freyre*, Jeſuits; who toward the beginning of *February* ſetting Sail from *Goâ*, and a Month after arriving at the Port of *Arkiko*, were there curteouſly receiv'd by the Preſident of the Maritime Province, and within the ſpace of two Months brought to the King. Who underſtanding that the King of *Portugal* was about to ſend Prieſts, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to teach him and his People a new Religion, was very much perplex'd in his Mind, and long in Suſpence what anſwer to return; for he neither thought it convenient to admit them, neither was he willing to offend the King of *Portugal*. However he ventur'd upon ſeveral Colloquies with the Envoys, the ſum of which, manag'd for the moſt part by *Gonſalez*, tended to this, *That the Pope of* Rome *was Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, and the Supream Head of all Chriſtianity, and therefore if the* Habeſſines *were deſirous of Eternal Happineſs, they ſhould once more return and joyn themſelves to their Lawful Head; for that Chriſt himſelf had from his own lips aſſerted, that his Church was but one Fold, and over that but one Shepheard,* &c. On the other ſide, the *Habeſsines* made anſwer, *That an Affair of ſo great Conſequence was to be conſider'd and conſulted upon with the other Patriarchs; for to abandon their ancient Rites and Ceremonies upon private admonition, and receive new ones, was a thing full of danger and offence.* At length the King told them, *That if thoſe Perſons whom the King of* Portugal *ſhould ſend, would take the pains to come to* Matzua, *he would order ſome Perſon to be there, both to give them a befitting Reception, and Conduct them to his Court.* Beſides all this, the King was no leſs fearful, leaſt the *Portugals*, as it had befallen ſeveral other Kings in *India*, ſhould make him their Tributary, and under the pretence of Religion, powre into his Country a great force of Soldiers, Arm'd and furniſh'd with Fire-Arms; Eſpecially remembring what great Exploits a ſmall Number of *Portugals* had perform'd in his Kingdom but a few years before. A Jealouſie that not long after increas'd to

that

that height, that when King *David* had seriously negotiated with *Roderigo Limez*, the *Portugal* Embassador, about the Recovery and Fortification of *Matzua*, and *Suaqena*, and had also offer'd assistance of Forces, Provision and Money, afterwards the Business was not only no farther mention'd, but also the *Portuguese* Aid, so necessary, and so much desir'd was utterly refus'd; so that he chose rather to leave the Port of *Arkiko*, with the Island adjoyning, in the hands of the *Turk*, then to give Admission to the *Portugals*. *So prevalent is the fear of Foreign Domination.*

But now *Claudius*'s answer being return'd into *India*, strangely surpriz'd the Patriarch *Barret*, and his Associates, who imagin'd that all things would have bin smooth and easie according to their wishes. Thereupon after long deliberation, they came to this result, *Lest the Patriarchal Dignity should be hazarded with a Prince ill affected, which would be to the Detriment of the Pontifical Authority, and a contempt of the King of* Portugal, *by whose recommendation and favour they were sent, that the Patriarch should remain in* India *with* Melchior Caymero *Bishop of* Nice, *and that* Oviedo *should go alone, to the end he might take his measures by the Event of* Oviedo's *Success.* *Oviedo* being thus dispatch'd away with Five more Associates, was kindly receiv'd by *Isaac* at that time *Bahrnagash*, or Governor of the Sea-Ports. The Common People ignorant of their Errand, nor altogether averse to the *Romish* Ceremonies, receiv'd the Bishop and his Associates with great testimonies of Kindness, even to the kissing their hands. The Romanists laying hold upon the occasion, resolv'd upon a *Procession* from their own to the *Habessine* Church, and were by them beheld with mutual Charity, without the least upbrading or reproach of the Novelty. The King also entertain'd them with great kindness; only he took it ill that they should talk to him of yielding obedience to the *Roman Pontiff*. Nevertheless as he was a most Prudent Person, and worthy the high Dignity he enjoy'd, he always carry'd himself with so great Moderation toward the Bishop, that he still left him with some hopes of Success. In the mean time the *Roman* Religion was every where freely exercis'd, and no man forbid who desir'd to embrace it. But the Bishop not content with so much favour, began to press the King more urgently, *That at length without more delay, he would submit himself to the* Roman *Pontiff*. He reply'd, *That his An-*

ceſtors had in ſacred things given their Obedience to none but the Succeſſors of St. Mark; *nor did he ſee any cauſe why he ſhould deſire Innovation, and diſturb his People well contented with their* Abuna? But the Biſhop ſtill continuing his Importunity, The King told him, *That ſince he was come to him from a Region ſo far diſtant upon ſo honeſt a Negotiation, he would conſult with his Friends and his Learned Men upon a Matter of ſo great Importance.* Oviedo underſtanding that the King did nothing but ſpin out delays; and hearing withal, that the King's Mother, and all the Blood Royal, together with the Nobility and greateſt Doctors of the Nation were utterly averſe to any Alterations, wrote an Epiſtle to the King, wherein he put him in Mind, *That his Father had acknowledg'd the Pope of* Rome *for the Vicar of Chriſt; that ſeveral of his Learned men had beſought him; that* Claudius *had wrote to the King of* Portugal; *and that his Father had Commanded, that they ſhould not deſire an* Abuna *from any other place then from* Rome: *and that He himſelf had publickly promis'd Obedience to thee See of* Rome. *That if any doubt remain'd concerning any Articles of Faith, he ſhould bring thoſe things to a Publick Diſpute, and hear the Arguments on both ſides: it being but juſt, that the Party that was foil'd, ſhould acknowledge and follow what the other had maintain'd for Truth: and that the King ſhould well conſider whoſe advice he took, or what Perſons he conſulted in ſo important an Affair. That the Ends and Intereſt of Parents or Kindred were not to be regarded: That the love of Chriſt was to be preferr'd before the love of Relations, who being buſied in Teaching his own Doctrine in the Temple of* Jeruſalem, *would not make uſe of his moſt Holy Mothers advice; by which he ſhew'd, that in the Cauſe of God no Man is bound to Communicate his Intentions to his neareſt Friends.* Whether the King made any Anſwer, or what it was, is not known. But *Gregory* told me, That the ſence of the King's Commands and Letters, was quite different from the Expoſitions of *Alvarez*, *Bermudes* and others addicted to the *Roman* Religion made of them at *Rome*: and that it could not be otherwiſe, in regard that before the Reign of *Suſneus*, the *Habeſſines* had never known what that Obedience meant. Hower the King, that he might not ſeem to diſtruſt the ſtrength of his own Cauſe, and the learning of his own Subjects, permitted frequent Diſputes, not yet made Publick by the Fathers of the Society. From this *Tellez* reports, *That the* Habeſſine *Doctors appear'd very ignorant and illiterate in all*

their

their Disputes ; as never having Study'd Logic, Syllogisms, nor Enthymemes, nor having any knowledge of the Subtleties of Scholastic Divinity. From whence the Reader may readily Judge of the Progress and Events of such Disputes. *Tellez* goes on, and says, *That* Claudius *weary of the illiterateness of his own People, for the most part undertook the Discourse himself, and gave* Oviedo *not a little Trouble.* Moreover he complains, *That the* Habessines, *when they were worsted, would never acknowledge it, but always boasted of the Victory, and so all those Disputes came to nothing.* It was therefore thought more convenient to betake themselves to *writing.* Nor did the King decline the Combat, but answer'd them with other Writings, tho they have not as yet bin permitted to visit the *European* Regions. *Oviedo* impatient of his ill Success, and finding he could not bring the *Ethiopic* Prince to do as he would have had him, resolv'd to a more severe but unseasonable course. And therefore, to testifie his Indignation, he left the Court, and publish'd a Writing, *Wherein he branded the* Habessines *with several Heresies, and exhorted his* Portugueses *to have a care of them.* Which did not a little offend *Claudius.* For a mind free, and subject to none, when once it refuses the persuasion of Argument, is the more exasperated by affront and reviling. Nor can it be thought that any Prince will suffer himself and his Subjects to be traduc'd for Heretics within his own Dominions.

Not long after *Claudius* was slain in a Battel against the *Adelans ;* to whom, in regard he dy'd without Issue, his Brother *Adamas-Saghed* Succeeded, a Person quite of another disposition, as one that retain'd nothing of his Moderation or Clemency. For whatever Indulgencies *Claudius* had granted to *Oviedo,* and the Embracers of his Doctrine, he recall'd them all ; nor would he so much as permit that the *Habessine* Women, who were Marry'd to the *Portugueses,* should exercise the Religion of their Husbands ; to which he added many other severe Edicts, declaring openly, *That his Brother was therefore punish'd by God, because he did not persecute the Religion of the* Franks ; as it is frequent to attribute Adversity or Prosperity to neglected or protected Religion. Nay, he proceeded so far, that having sent for *Oviedo*, he threaten'd him with Death, if he continu'd divulging and sowing *Roman* Paradoxes in his Dominions. Which when the Bishop refus'd to consent to, saying, *That God was to be obey'd*

obey'd, rather then Man, he drew his Scymiter in a rage, and unleſs the Queen, and ſome of the chief Nobility had prevented him, had undoubtedly diſpatch'd the Biſhop to the other World. The Biſhop therefore, in this deſperate Condition of Affairs retires to *Fremona*, where he lay conceal'd, thirty whole years together, and aſſuming to himſelf, after the Death of *Barret*, the Title of Patriarch, officiated among his own *Portugueſes*, without any further moleſtation: in regard that *Melec-Saghed* after his Father's violent Death, ſhew'd himſelf more mild, and temperate to the *Portugueſes*, who behaving themſelves more modeſtly, gave him no cauſe of Provocation. But at length all the Avenues into *Habeſsinia* being ſhut up by the *Turk*, and the Fathers that were ſent thither being all taken and ſlain, the State of Religion among the *Portugueſes* was reduc'd to that extremity, that all the Fathers being deceas'd, there was none remain'd alive to officiate Divine Service. At length *Melchior Silvanus* an Indian, Vicar of the Church of St. *Anns* in *Goa*, and for that reaſon diſguis'd both by his Language and Colour, ventur'd into *Ethiopia*, and there officiated till the Arrival of *Peter Pays*; after which he return'd into *India*, leaving the ſaid *Peter*, as he had bin before, all alone in his office of Prieſthood.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the New Miſſion, and its Succeſs, till the Coming of the Roman *Patriarch.*

The Religion of the Portugueſes *very low in* Habeſſinia. *New Hopes upon the arrival of* Peter Pays. *Who Taught School at* Fremona *with the admiration of all. The King ſends for him. Curiouſly receives him. And permits Obedience to the Pope. He abrogates the Obſervation of the Sabbath. He obtains the King's Friendſhip by the Pope's, and K. of* Portugal's *Letters. The King therefore hated, and ſlain.* Suſneus *Succeeds. He perceives the Ignorance of his own Doctors, and applys to the Fathers. Several Diſputes. The King's Brother Embraces the* Roman *Faith.* Suſneus *promiſes Obedience to the Pope. He cauſes a publick diſpute concerning the two Natures in Chriſt. The* Habeſſines *confuted. The King's Edict. A diſobedient Monk puniſh'd. The Metropolitan complains. The Event. The Edict renew'd. The* Alexandrinians *provok'd. They Excommunicate the* Romans. *The King reſiſts.* Simeon *replies. Thence a Rebellion. The Metropolitan's* Anathema. Elius *the Head of the Conſpirators ſlain. So is* Simeon. *The Sabbath abrogated. The Effects.* Jonael *the Viceroy Revolts. The King defends the Abrogation.* Jonael *hides himſelf. Slain by the* Gallans. *The People of* Damota *Rebel. Vanquiſh'd. The King publickly Embraces the* Roman *Faith. New Commotions by his Son* Gabrael. *He is ſlain.*

THE Arch-Biſhop of *Goa*, and the Fathers of the Society were not ignorant of the afflicted Condition of the *Roman* Worſhip in *Habeſsinia*. And therefore, whereas before they had conceiv'd vaſt hope of Total Converſion of *Ethiopia*, now the caſe was ſo far alter'd, that they found themſelves put to a Neceſſity of providing for their own few Countrymen, leaſt they ſhould be utterly deſtitute of Proviſion for the Salvation of their own Souls, as not having any Prieſts to perform Religious Duties among them. Mov'd therefore by the Inſtigation of Conſcience, they took it into ſerious Conſideration, leaſt while they were buſyed about Subjecting *Abaſsia* to the See of *Rome*, that nothing belong'd to it, they ſhould looſe their own Countrymen, Profeſſors of their own Religion, who had reaſon enough to forſake thoſe that forſook them. And therefore they made it their whole ſtudy how to ſupply them with Prieſts, to govern their Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. And indeed many had attempted the Journey, but in vain.

Till

Till at length with the dawn of the new Century, new hopes began to ſhine forth. For *Peter Pays*, after his firſt unfortunate Attempt, which had expos'd him to various Hazards, and a Captivity in *Arabia*, undertook a ſecond Journey into *Ethiopia*, wherein he proſperouſly Succeeded; being well skill'd both in the Countries, Cuſtoms and Foreign Languages, and able to endure the temperature of thoſe Climates. *John Gabriel* a famous *Portugueſe* Collonel, had given King *Jacob* then reigning, notice of his coming, and had ſo poſſeſs'd the young Prince with the worth of the Perſon, by the high Commendations which he gave him, that ſo ſoon as the Winter was over, the King ſent for him. But he being ſoon after depos'd, *Zadenghel* was advanc'd in his Room. Thereupon *Peter Pays* kept himſelf ſtill at *Fremona*; where, not believing his time could be better ſpent than in inſtructing the *Portugueſe* Children, he choſe out ſome of the riper Ingenuities, and in a ſhort time ſo manur'd them, that they were able to anſwer to any Queſtion propounded to them concerning the Chriſtian Faith. A thing both unwonted and wonderful to the *Habeſines*, to hear from Children what they could hardly expect from Perſons of years and Experience. But conſidering the Perſon, he was not ſo much wonderful neither; for he was a Man of a quick and ready Wit, that could fit himſelf to all Humours, of an affable and complaiſant Temper, and well skill'd not only in the Liberal Sciences, but Mechanic Arts. The fame of ſo acute and laborious a Perſon, and ſo happy in his Inſtruction, being ſpread over the Neighbouring Regions, in a ſhort time reach'd the young King's Ears; who being covetous to ſee ſuch a Maſter and ſuch Scholars, by his Letters invited him to Court. Thereupon in the Month of *April*, 1604. accompany'd with two *Portugueſe* Youths arriving at Court, he was honourably receiv'd by the King, as if he had bin one of the Nobles of his Kingdom, not without great diſtaſt taken by the Monks, whoſe Sloth compar'd to *Peter's* Diligence and Induſtry, render'd them contemptible to moſt. The next day ſeveral Diſputes began about Controverſies in Religion, which the King was pleas'd both favourably and patiently to hear; Maſs was alſo ſaid after the *Roman* manner, and a Sermon Preach'd; with which *Zadenghel* was ſo taken, that having Communicated his Intentions to ſome of his intimate Friends, he reſolv'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope.

But

But in regard he durst not adventure to do it publickly, he first conjur'd *Peter* not to reveal the Secret, and then told him, *That he was Convinc'd by his Arguments, that there was no other Universal Pastor and Vicar of Christ upon Earth beside the Pope of* Rome. *That to deny it to him, was to deny it to Christ; that whoever did not follow his Example, was not of the true Church; and that therefore he had Decreed to request a Patriarch and Fathers from* Rome *to instruct his People.*

Altho so sudden and so unexpected a Declaration of a King could not choose but infuse a joy unspeakable into the heart of *Peter*, yet he contain'd himself; only what his duty bound him to, he could not but highly extol the Pious Intentions of the King. Nor did the King delay: The Secret with which he had trusted *Peter* under Oath, he himself made Publick, and presently set forth an Edict, *That no Person should any longer observe the Sabbath as a Holy day.* And indeed he was so forward, that *Peter* was fain to check his Celerity, and put a stop to his Career. However Letters were written to *Clement* the VIII. and *Philip* the Third, King of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and deliver'd to *Peter*'s care, for their safe and honourable conveyance. In these Letters *he offer'd his Friendship, his Soldiers, and his Workmen; and withal requested some of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to instruct his Subjects.* These things were not so privately carry'd, but that they were discover'd by some of the chief Nobility of the Kingdom, who were no way satisfy'd at these underminings of their ancient Religion: wherefore they conspir'd against their Prince, and slew him in Battel. *Zadenghel* being slain, all *Peter*'s great Hopes vanish'd of a sudden, not only through *Zadenghel*'s fall, but by reason of the Civil Wars that ensu'd between *Jacob* and *Susneus*, contending for the Royal Diadem. And so all Promotion of the *Roman* Religion surceas'd, till *Jacob* being vanquish'd and kill'd in the Field, *Susneus* became Lord of *Habessinia*. Who again kindly receiv'd and entertain'd *Peter* together with his Companions, and to all his Requests lent a most gracious Ear.

The Ecclesiastical Affairs of *Habessinia*, were then but in a Low Condition, there not having bin any Peace in the Country for about Fourscore years: so that perpetual Wars had almost extinguish'd the Studies of peaceful Arts; nor were there enough to perform Religious Duties in their Churches, but less to obviate the Encroachment of insinuating

Errors and Abuſes in Religion. The Metropolitans, Perſons for the moſt part the moſt ignorant that could be imagin'd, took no more Cognizance of the Churches which they were appointed to govern, then if they had bin under Foreign Juriſdiction, only they took up their time in the Ordination of all ſorts without any due Examination. Therefore the King and his Nobility obſerving the Diligence of the *Fathers* in inſtructing the *Habeſſine* Youth; their Zeal in the Converſion of the People; their Eloquence in Preaching unheard of before, their Sanctity of living, ſo neceſſary among *Neophytes* and *Proſelytes*, were poſſeſs'd with ſo much Admiration and Affection toward them, that they could promiſe to themſelves no other way for reſtoring their decay'd Eccleſiaſtical Worſhip, but by their means. Therefore Letters were ſent to the *Pope* and the *King* of *Spain*, to requeſt their Friendſhip, and the Aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſes*. *Peter Pays* enlarg'd upon the ſame Subject, and added much more concerning the King's Affection to the *Roman* Religion. Frequent Diſputations alſo were appointed, of which the chief Theme was concerning the *two Natures in Chriſt*, which, being eaſily demonſtrable out of the Writings of the *Habeſsines* themſelves, gave the *Fathers* great Advantage over the *Ethiopian* Doctors.

The Chiefeſt of all the Nobility, *Ras-Seelaxus* the King's Brother by the Mother's ſide, publickly profeſſed the *Roman* Religion, and receiv'd the Euchariſt openly, according to the *Roman* Manner, whoſe example many of the Great Commanders in the Army, both Collonels and Captains follow'd, eſpecially ſeeing the King's favour ſo conſtant toward the *Fathers* of the *Society*. At length the King himſelf, having receiv'd the Anſwer of *Paul* the V. in a Letter dated the 31 of *January*, 1623. *Promis'd to yield him Obedience as Univerſal Paſtor of the Church, and that he would admit a Patriarch ſent from* Rome, *ſo that neceſſary Succors were ſent him withal, without which, it was impoſsible to accompliſh a buſineſs of ſo much Difficulty and Importance.* He alſo ſignified his Intentions to ſend an Embaſſador with Father *Antonio Fernandez*, after another manner, and in another Equipage, then had yet bin uſual. To ſay truth, the King publickly favour'd the *Roman* Religion, without any oppoſition; in regard that the Sword had cut off the greateſt part of the ſtiffeſt and moſt obſtinate Defenders of the *Alexandrian* Worſhip. Only the *Monks* remain'd behind, who

who were baffled ſtill in all their Attempts of Diſpute. Therefore the King, to the end he might make it manifeſt to his whole Kingdom, that he had not raſhly, but upon Mature Deliberation, and as it were overcome by the force of Truth, given way to a new Religion, appointed a Solemn Diſpute, where he enjoyn'd moſt of the Nobility of his Kingdom to be preſent. The Subject of the Diſputation was again the repeated Queſtion concerning the two Natures in Chriſt; as if that had bin the utmoſt limit of all their Controverſies. And no queſtion it might be true what *Tellez* has written, that the *Habeſsines* were vanquiſh'd upon the firſt onſet. For the reality of the thing ſupported by ſo many Authorities and Reaſons afforded an eaſie Victory. Nevertheleſs there was another Diſpute appointed ſome few days after, which prov'd no leſs ſucceſsful than the former. Wherefore the King, as if the War had now bin at an end, and that now Truth had merited her Triumph, put forth an Edict, that all Perſons for the future ſhould believe and hold, *That there were two Natures in Chriſt, between themſelves really diſtinct, but united in one Divine Perſon.* This Edict was little regarded by one particular *Monk*, more wilful and ſtubborn than truly zealous, who being for his Contumacy brought before the King, and ſpeaking in his preſence more irreverently than became him, was ſeverely Scourg'd for his ſawcineſs. Of the Pain and Anguiſh of which Chaſtiſement, tho the Monk was only ſenſible, yet the fear of it kept others in awe, who not underſtanding that he was puniſh'd for his malapertneſs, thought he had bin ſo ſeverely dealt with for denying the *two Natures*.

Theſe things being ſpread abroad, *Simeon* the Metropolitan, at that time abſent, haſtens to the King with his Complaints, *That unuſual things had bin done without his knowledge, and that Diſputes about Religion had bin appointed in his abſence.* The King well underſtanding how unable he was to grapple with the Fathers in Diſpute, made him anſwer, *That ſince he was come, he would appoint the ſame Diſputations to be heard over again.* To which *Simeon* had not a word to ſay. And thus a ſecond Victory being won from the Primate of *Ethiopia* himſelf, a more ſevere Edict concerning the *two Natures* was publiſh'd by the *Cryer*, making it Death for any Perſon to deny the contrary.

By this so sharp a Decree, as if it had bin the loud signal to Battel, it is incredible to think how the minds of the People were incens'd. As for the Controversie it self, they did not think it of so high a Concernment, as to engage divided Parties in Blood and Massacre about it. *In regard that all acknowledg'd both Divinity and Humanity in Christ; so that the Question was only about a word. But let the Question be what it would, such a severe way of proceeding was never heard of before in* Ethiopia, *as being altogether contradictory to the mildness of Christ and his Apostles, and the Lenity of the Primitive times. So then if Men were to be scourg'd and whipp'd, because they could not apprehend two Natures in Christ, what must they expect if other Questions should be started about Innovations of greater difficulty in the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Fathers?*

Exasperated with these fair pretences, *Simeon* the Metropolitan, together with several of the Nobility; and among the rest *Jamanaxus*, alias *Emana Christos*, another of the King's Brothers by the Mothers side; and lastly, almost all the Interested Clergy and Monks met, and held Consultations together to prevent the threatning Mischiefs; and lastly, combin'd *to live and dye for the Defence of their ancient and settled Religion.* To this end *Simeon*, under pretence of incumbent Duty, which was to be watchful over the Preservation of the *Constantinopolitan* Religion, fix'd an *Excommunication* Publickly upon the Dores of the great Church belonging to the Camp, against all that embrac'd the Religion of the *Franks*, or ventur'd to Dispute concerning it. The King, tho highly offended with this unexpected boldness of the Metropolitan, durst not adventure to revenge himself; However he Publish'd another Edict, *whereby Liberty was granted to every Person that so pleas'd, to embrace and exercise the Fathers Religion already establish'd by fair Disputes and Arguments on their side.* Which so little terrify'd the undaunted Metropolitan, that he thunder'd out his Anathema's against all that maintain'd *two Natures in Christ.*

The Moderate Party bewail'd these Paper Skirmishes, which they foresaw would break forth, *and end in Slaughter and Misery, and that the King's Decrees would never be establish'd without the effusion of much Blood.* Sensible of these Fears, several of the great Personages of the Kingdom, together with the King's Mother, *Ite-Hamelmala*, most earnestly besought the King, to desist from what he had begun, and not to raise

up

up implacable Seditions to the Ruin of himself and his Kingdom. After which the Metropolitan, with many Monks and Nuns came to the Camp, and implor'd the King, not to innovate any thing in Religion, otherwise that they were prepar'd to lay down their lives for the Religion of their Ancestors. At last the King referr'd the whole Business to another Colloquie, which continu'd for Six days one after another, but without any Success: A clear Testimony that Controversies in Religion are not to be decided by Disputes. After that, all the Clergy throw themselves at the King's Feet, and with Sighs and Tears beseech him, *Not to change a Religion so quietly Establish'd in* Ethiopia *for so many Ages, by so many of their Emperors.* But nothing would prevail; the King remain'd inexorable and immoveable; so that the Petitioners departed full freighted with Exasperation and Rebellion. Immediately, all hopes of Concord and Agreement being lay'd aside, the Sword was next unsheath'd, whence follow'd those terrible Commotions and Bloody Wars that have almost ruin'd the most flourishing part of *Ethiopia.*

The Chief of the Conspirators were *Jamanaxus*, *Ælius* the King's Son in Law, Viceroy of *Tigra*, the Eunuch *Casto*, and several others. But to give the better Colour to their Rebellion, and Design of Killing the King, the Metropolitan, caus'd a new and more severe Excommunication to be fix'd upon the Chief Church in the Camp, by which all the partakers of the Latin Religion were Anathematiz'd. In the mean time the Fathers of the Society relying upon the King's Favour, hasten'd to get all things ready that might be of advantage to Establish their Doctrine. To that end they translated *Maldonatus* upon the Four Evangelists; *Toletus* upon St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*, *Ribera* upon the *Hebrews*, and some others, into the *Ethiopic* Language, which some esteem'd, others by reason of the intermixture of *Amharic* words, contemn'd, as full of Barbarisms and Solœcisms. But as for the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of *Mary*, being nothing but the Latin written in *Ethiopic* Characters, they abhorr'd 'em, as looking upon them to be nothing but Magic Spells. On the other side, the *Alexandrians* fell upon the Fathers with all the bittersest Invectives that might be; those Paper Skirmishes being generally the fore-runners of more Bloody disputes. In pursuance of which, *Ælius* by an

Edict

Edict, Commands all the *Franks* to depart out of *Tigra*, and the *Alexandrians* to follow him: by which means, having muſter'd up a compleat Army, he openly Rebels. *Simeon* Curſes the *Franks*, but loads *Ælius* with his Bleſſings; upon which he no doubt relying, reſolv'd to fight his Father in Law, then upon his March againſt him with a ſtrong Force, notwithſtanding all the Perſwaſions of his Wife to the contrary. Fierce therefore, and in the heat of his young Blood, and over-confident of his own Faction, not ſtaying ſo much as to take his Breakfaſt, but as it were Drunk with Fury and Rage, only with a ſmall Troop about him, he leaps his Horſe into his Father's Camp, asking, *Where the King was?* and ſo what between the aſtoniſhment of ſome, and the wonder of others what the Matter ſhould be, he rode up without any hurt to the King's Pavilion; where at length the Alarum being taken, he was ſoon ſurrounded, Ston'd and Stabb'd to Death, and ſo dearly paid for his raſhneſs. The Captain thus Slain, the Soldiers betake themſelves to their heels; *Simeon*, between the Fugitives and the Purſuers, ſtood alone by himſelf, like a man ſtupifyed, whether not at firſt obſerv'd, or neglected as a Clergy-man, but at length being known, he was Slain among the Crowd. Both their Heads were ſent about the Kingdom, and expos'd as a Public Spectacle. The Eunuch *Caſlo* had his Head ſtruck off: *Jamanaxus* was pardon'd. Thus the Kindred of Kings for the moſt part eſcape the Puniſhment of thoſe Rebellions to which they themſelves have given Life and Encouragement.

The King who was never fearful, now more emboldened by his Victory, now queſtions other Heads of Religion: and ſoon after by Public Edict prohibits the Obſervation of the Sabbath, as *Judaical*, and Repugnant to Chriſtianity. In anſwer to this Edict, ſome Perſon without a Name, had written contemptuouſly of the *Roman* Religion, reflecting ſeverely upon the Fathers of the Society, whom he call'd *the Kindred of* Pilate, as being a *Roman*, and withal ſharply menacing the King himſelf. *Tellez* reports, That it was ſtufft with places of Scripture, but nothing to the purpoſe. The King more incens'd by this Writing, renew'd the Edict about the Sabbath, and commanded the Husbandmen to Plough and Sow upon that Day, adding as a Penalty upon the Offenders, for the firſt Fault the Forfeiture of a weav'd

Veſtment

Veſtment to the value of a *Portugal* Patack; for the ſecond, Confiſcation of Goods, and that the ſaid Offence ſhould not be preſcribed to Seven years; a certain form uſually inſerted in their more ſevere Decrees.

Certainly it muſt of neceſſity be true what *Tellez* reports of the Natural Piety of the *Habeſines*, ſince they were thus to be compell'd to the Neglect of the Sabbath by ſuch Severe Laws, when we can hardly be induc'd by ſtricter Penalties to obſerve the Lord's-Day. Among the reſt, one *Bucus* a ſtout and famous Soldier, felt the utmoſt rigour of this Decree, for being accus'd to have obſerv'd the Sabbath, he was made a moſt ſevere Example, that others of leſs conſequence might not think to expect any Mercy.

From thence *Jonael* Viceroy of *Bagemdra* took an occaſion to Revolt, alluring all to his Party who were diſpleaſed with the Edicts. Upon which News, many of the chiefeſt of the Court, both Men and Women, of which ſeveral were near allyed to the King, with Tears in their Eyes beſought him once more, not to expoſe himſelf and the Kingdom to Calamity, but to take Pity upon ſo many poor afflicted People, offending out of meer Simplicity and Ignoránce, and not to diſturb the Minds of his People with ſuch unſeaſonable Changes.

The King far from being mov'd with their Tears, but rather the more diſpleas'd to ſee ſo many all of one Mind, that at once he might anſwer all, confirm the wavering, and terrifie the Headſtrong, having ſummon'd together the Chief Nobles and Commanders of his Army that attended the Court, in a ſhort, but grave Oration, put them in mind of paſt Tranſactions, upbraiding them among the reſt, *For that they had depriv'd* Zadenghel *both of his Life and Kingdom, becauſe he had forſaken the* Alexandrian *Religion to embrace the* Roman *Faith. That for his part, after his Victory obtain'd againſt* Jacob, *he had bin ſevere to none; but rather had pardon'd all; nevertheleſs he was diſturb'd with daily Seditions and Rebellions, under pretence of changing his Religion, when he only reform'd it. For that he acknowledg'd as much and the ſame that others did, That* Chriſt was true God, and true Man: *but becauſe he could not be Perfect God, unleſs he had the Perfect Divine Nature, nor perfect Man without perfect Humane Nature, it follow'd, that there were two Natures in Chriſt, united in one Subſtance of the Eternal Word. Which was not to abandon but explain his Religion. In the next place he had abrogated*

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the Observation of the Sabbath Day, because it became not Christians *to observe the* Jews *Sabboth. These things he did not believe in favour of the* Portugueses; *but because it was the Truth it self determin'd in the Council of* Chalcedon, *founded upon Scripture, and ever since the time of the Apostles deliver'd as it were from hand to hand; and if there were occasion, he would lay down his life in defence of this Doctrine; but they who deny'd it should first examine the Truth of it.*

Having finished his Oration, a Letter was brought him from *Jonael*, containing many haughty Demands, and among the rest the Expulsion of the Jesuits. The King believing there would be no better way than to answer him in the Field, Commanded the nimblest of his Armed Bands to March: of which the Rebel having Intelligence, and not willing to abide his Fury fled for shelter among those inaccessible Rocks, whither it was in vain to pursue him. Thereupon *Susneus*, well-knowing that the Revolters would not be able long to endure the Inconveniencies, and Famine that lodg'd among those inaccessible places, blockt him up at a Distance. So that *Jonael* at length, weaken'd by daily desertions, fled to the *Gallans*, who being at variance among themselves, kept their promis'd Faith but a short time; for being underhand tempted with Rewards by the King; they at length turn'd their Protection into Treachery, and slew the Unfortunate Implorer of their Security.

This Bad Succes however did not terrifie the Inhabitants of *Damota*, inhabiting the Southern parts of *Gojam*, who upon the News of the *Prophanation of the Sabbath*, as they called it, with their Hermites that sculk'd in the Deserts of that Province, ran to their Arms. *Ras-Seelax*, otherwise their Lord and Patron in vain Exhorting them to continue their Obedience, whose kind Messages of Peace and Pardon they refus'd, *unless he would burn the Books Translated out of* Latin *into the* Habessine *Language by the Fathers, and deliver up the* Fathers *themselves to be Hang'd upon the highest Trees they could find.* Thus despairing of Peace, *Ras-Seelax* set forward, tho deserted by the greatest part of his Forces, who favoured the Cause of their Countrymen; so that he had hardly Seven Thousand Men that stook close to him, while the Enemies Body daily encreas'd. However he resolv'd to Fight them, knowing his Soldiers to be more Experienc'd,

and

and better Arm'd, beſides that he had about Forty *Portugueſe* Muſquetiers in his Camp. When they came to blows, the Victory fell to the King's Party, tho it coſt dear; in regard that about Four hundred Monks, that had as it were devoted themſelves to die for their Religion, fought moſt deſperately: of which a Hundred and fourſcore were Slain.

Hitherto the King had not made Publick Profeſſion of the *Roman* Religion, partly out of fear of ſtirring up Popular Tumults againſt him; partly being loath to diſmiſs his Supernumerary Wives, and Concubines; but at length encourag'd by ſo many Victories he lay'd all fear aſide, and publickly renounc'd the *Alexandrian* Worſhip, and confeſſing his Sins after the *Roman* manner to *Peter Pays*, diſmiſs'd all his Wives and Concubines, only the firſt of thoſe to which he had bin lawfully Marry'd. His Example convinc'd many others, who were not aſham'd to keep many Miſtreſſes, but Adultreſſes alſo. Not long after, the King ſignify'd his Converſion to the *Roman* Religion to his whole Empire; by a Publick Inſtrument, not without the Severe reproof of the *Alexandrian* Patriarch. The ſum of his *Manifeſto* was, *That having deſerted the* Alexandrinian, *he now reverenced only the* Roman *See; and had yielded his Obedience to the* Roman *Pope, as the Succeſſor of* Peter, *the Prince of the Apoſtles; for that that See could never err either in Faith or good Manners*, and then he exhorted his Subjects to do as he had done. He alſo diſcourſed at large concerning the two Natures in Chriſt, and tax'd the *Ethiopian* Primates as guilty of many Errors. But neither the King's Example, nor his Exhortation wrought upon many. For at the ſame time his Son *Gabriel* began to ſtudy new Contrivances, tho with no better Succeſs than they who had taught him the way. For when he had intelligence that *Ras-Seelax* was marching againſt him, finding himſelf Inferior in Force, he betook himſelf to the inacceſſible Rocks of *Shewa*; from whence at laſt by the Craft of a certain well-brib'd *Gallan*, he was allur'd to come forth; who feigning himſelf to be highly offended with *Ras-Seelax*, came to the unwary young Prince, and promis'd him the Aſſiſtance of all his Friends; which while he was inveagled out to expect, in a neighbouring Wood, he was there ſurrounded by a ſelect Party of the Enemy, and pay'd for his raſh belief with the loſs of his Life.

Chap. XI.

Of the Coming of the Roman *Patriarch into* Habessinia, *and how he Managed his Affairs there.*

Alphonsus Mendez *made Patriarch of* Ethiopia. *His Inauguration and Journey to* Goa, *&c. Their miserable Reception at first. His difficult Passage by Land. Met by the Jesuits. He comes to* Fremona, *thence to the King. The King swears Obedience to the Pope. So does the Court.* Ras-Seelax*'s behaviour blam'd. The Solemnity concluded with an Anathema. New Edicts in favour of the Romish Worship. The Women Commanded to swear. The Patriarchal See. New Disturbances occasion'd by the new Computation. Baptism and Ordination reiterated: Sermons. Visitation and Confirmation. A Countryman's Joke. A Seminary.* Tecla-George *Revolts. Suppres's'd and Hang'd. The Captain of the Guards excommunicated upon a slight Occasion by the Patriarch; but Pardon'd at the King's intercession. Their Courtiers offended. Their Indignation increases, and why. A Witch imprison'd by Command of the Patriarch: Which alienates the King's Affection from him. His Authority decreases, through private Grudges, and an Act of* Ras Seelax. *The* Agawi *Revolt. The King's ill Success.* Ras-Seelax *more Prosperous against* Luca-Marjam. Kebax *kill'd and* Teker-Egzi. *These Mischiefs attributed to the* Romans. Melcax *takes upon him the Regal Power.* Ras Seelax *accus'd; His Goods confiscated. The Fathers render'd odious to the King. Their Indulgencies laugh'd at.* Serthax*'s unhappy Revolt. A New Expedition against the* Lasti, *Prosperous at first, at last Unfortunate. The Fathers tax'd. The King indulges the Old Ceremonies. The Patriarch offended. Another more mild Edict; but too late.*

OF These prosperous Successes, the Fathers wrote presently to *Rome*, and into *Portugal*. But very prudently, there was nothing rashly decreed at first, lest the Design of another Patriarch, like that of *Nonius Barret* should come to nothing. But when King *Susneus* himself, had by his own Letters requested a Patriarch, and had made publick Profession of the *Romish* Religion, the Conclave then thought it not expedient to make any longer delays. And therefore, as if they had bin to send into some *Portuguese* Province, upon the Nomination of *Philip* the Fourth, then King of *Portugal*, as well as *Spain*, *Alphonsus Mendez*, a Person of great Eminency, by Nativity a *Portuguese*, a Doctor in Theology, and of the Society of *Jesus*, which claim'd *Ethiopia* peculiarly to it self, as a Province by them wholly converted to the Faith, was created Patriarch.

Besides,

Besides, that it might have occasion'd great Emulation, had a Person bin chosen out of any other Nation or Society. Being inaugurated with the usual Ceremonies at *Lisbon*, in the Month of *May* 1624. he set Sail, and arriv'd at *Goa*, where understanding that all things succeeded to the wishes of the *Fathers*, he prepar'd for his farther Journey. In *November* of the same year he arriv'd at *Dios*, hoping there to find some of the *Bannian* Vessels, to carry him into the *Red-Sea*: But they being the year before over-burthen'd by the covetous Exactions of the *Turks*, and fearing the *Arabian* Pirates had left off Trading into those Parts. While he stay'd at *Dio*, he was seasonably forewarn'd by the King's Letters, by no means to come near *Suaqena* or *Matzua*, but to make to rights for *Baylur* a Port of *Dancala*. There he arriv'd the Third of *April* following with six Companions, four *Fathers*, and two Friers.

The Fathers were,

1. *John Velasco Castellano.*
2. *Hierome Lobo*, or *Wolph*. Which Name, lest the *Ethiopians* should take an occasion to turn to an ill Omen, they made a shift to change for another.
3. *Bruno de Santa Cruce.*
4. *Francesco Marquese.*

The Friers were,

Emanuel Luis, Steward.
John Martin.

Attendants he had Thirteen.

One Servant.
Five Musicians.
Three Habessines.
Two Bricklayers, and their Apprentices; for the Building of Churches and Houses, which the Ethiopic Fathers had desir'd him to bring with him.

The King had recommended him to the care of the Vice-roy of *Dancala*, a Mahometan, but in Friendship with the *Habessines*. But the recommendation was so early, and he

came so late, that the Viceroy had forgot it. So that his Reception there was very lamentable, there being little or no Provision, so much as of Necessaries made for him. And their Hosts where they Lodg'd, were so poor and covetous, that instead of receiving any Kindnesses from them, they were forc'd to purchase their sorry Convenience with the continual Supplies of their Avarice. They could not get Mules or Horses anow to carry themselves and their Luggage; so that most of them were forc'd to travel over the rugged and parch'd Earth in continual conflict with hunger, thirst, and intolerable heat.

Neither were they much better entertain'd for Sixteen days in the Court of the Viceroy himself, all their Presents not sufficing to gratifie the impatient Appetite of his Avarice. Parting from thence, at the Mercy of those wicked and covetous Varlets that were their Guides and Owners of their Carriage-Horses, they travel'd as they were led, in daily fear of the *Gallans*, over places where Battels had bin fought, as it were Pav'd with the Skulls and Bones of the Slain, till at last all these Difficulties and Dangers overcome, they were met by *Emanuel Barradas*, with some other *Portugueses* and *Habessines* upon the Confines of *Tigra*, who furnish'd them with Provisions, Carriages, and all other things necessary. Upon the strength of which Refreshments, they began to ascend the towring Mountains of *Abassia*, and the Fifth day after, through more gladsom and verdant Fields, and more grateful opportunities of resting themselves, they arriv'd at *Fremona*; where they stay'd not only all the Winter, but all *October* and *November*, being both unhealthy Months. In *December* they arriv'd at *Gorgora*, where upon a day appointed, with a Noble Attendance, and great Applause, the Patriarch enter'd the Camp, and after Mass said, was conducted into the King's Pavillion, and there by the King Commanded to sit down by him in a little Chair equal to his own. In which great Pomp and State, at length the Patriarch came to the point, and agreed with the King, that upon the XI day of *February*, 1626. he should publickly swear Obedience to the Pope.

Upon which day, together with the King and his Eldest Son *Basilides*, appear'd the King's Brothers, the Viceroys and Governors of Provinces, and all others that were conspicuous for their Dignity and Quality. In the Room were two

little

little Chairs, but very rich, ſet one by the other, upon which the King ſate down on the right hand, and the Patriarch in his Pontifical habit upon the left. Being ſo ſate, the Patriarch made a moſt lofty Panegyric in Praiſe of the Pope, not without ſome Reflections upon the Blindneſs of former Ages: then he fell to commemorate what had been done of later Times, How, *That the Emperors of* Habeſſinia *had ſent their Embaſſadors formerly to* Rome, *and that lately one of them had requeſted thence a Paſtor, and Evangelical Preachers: that therefore now the Time was come, wherein his Majeſty was bound to ſatisfie the deſire of his Anceſtors, and to ſubmit himſelf and his Subjects to the See of* Rome. The King Commanded the Grand Chamberlain of his Houſhold *Melca Chriſtos*, Prince of *Samena* to return an Anſwer; who after he had extoll'd the Merits of the *Portugueſes*, *It is now the King's Intention*, ſaid he, *to fulfil the Promiſes of his Anceſtors, by yielding Obedience to the* Roman *Pope*; But as he was going on, the King interrupted him, ſaying, *That this was not the firſt day of his Intention to ſurrender his ſubmiſſion to the* Roman *Pope, as having long before promis'd it to the Superior Father of the Society of* Jeſus. Preſently the Patriarch after a ſhort anſwer, unfolded a Book containing the four Evangeliſts; and then the King falling upon his Knees, took his Oath after this manner:

We Sultan-Saghed *King of the Kings of* Ethiopia, *believe and confeſs, That St.* Peter, *Prince of the Apoſtles was by Chriſt our Lord, Conſtituted Head of the whole Chriſtian Church, and that Principality and Power over the whole World was given to him when he ſaid,* Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and I will give to thee the Keys of Heav'n; *and at another Time when he ſaid to Him,* Feed my Sheep. *In like manner we believe, That the Pope of* Rome *lawfully Elected, is the true Succeſſor of St.* Peter *the Apoſtle, in his Government, and that he has the ſame Power, Dignity, and Primacy of the whole Church of Chriſt. Therefore we Promiſe, Offer, and Swear true Obedience, and humbly ſubmit our Perſon and our Empire, at the feet of our Holy Father* Urban *the* VIII. *of that Name, by the Grace of God Pope, and our Lord, and to his Succeſſors in the Adminiſtration of the Church. So God help us, and theſe Holy Evangils.*

After

After the King had done, his Son *Basilides*, the King's Brothers, all the Viceroys and Peers; as also all the Clergy and Monks then present took the same Oath.

After this, *Ras-Seelax*, hastily Drawing forth his Scimiter, brake forth into these passionate Expressions: *What is done, let it be done*; that is to say, Let past things be forgotten; *But whoever for the future shall not do it, since it becomes every one so to do, shall feel the weight of this.* An Act, which to most that were present, seem'd very severe, especially to those who had taken part with *Gabriel*, at whom those words were construd to be principally levell'd. Moreover, he added an unusual Clause to his own Oath; *That he also swore Allegiance to* Basilides *as Heir and Successor to his Father; and that he would also be his faithful Vassal, so that he would promise to Protect and Defend the Holy Catholic Faith; otherwise that he would be the first and most profess'd of his Enemies.* As if it had bin lawful for a Subject to impose new Conditions of his Subjection upon a most Absolute Prince and Monarch, not bound by any Laws of Man, such as is the King of *Habessinia.* However the King said nothing, nor durst *Basilides*, as being under the Tuition of his Father, take notice of it. Nor indeed was this Condition added to his Oath, any advantage to the *Roman* Church, but rather serv'd to hasten the Ruin of *Ras-Seelax.* This Solemnity concluded with an Anathema, after the *Ethiopian* manner, upon all those that for the future should forget or break this Oath. Immediately after, several Edicts were Publish'd, *That none for the future should say Mass, or Exercise the Priestly Office, except such as were licens'd by the Patriarch.* Thereupon, the Ordinations of the *Alexandrian* Metropolitan not being accompted lawful, most of the Priests were constrain'd to receive new Ordinations from the new Patriarch, upon this Condition, *That they should all observe the* Roman *Forms of Worship, and not give any succour or harbour to Rebels; who offended in that Nature was to be severely punish'd.* It was also farther enjoyn'd that in the Celebration of *Easter*, and Observation of *Lent*, the Canons of the Church of *Rome* should be faithfully follow'd. There was also one thing more than usual exacted by the Patriarch, who having a great mistrust of the Ladies of the Royal Blood, caus'd a

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It is still a Proverb among the Ethiopians, Zaqon Qawino, *What is done, let it be done.*

Decree

Decree to be made, that they alſo upon a prefix'd day, as being more zealous for the *Alexandrian* Opinions than the Men, ſhould take the Sacred Oath of Supremacy to the Pope, as if they had bin a diſtinct Body Politic from the Men. But whether it were put in Execution, or how done I do not find.

In the next place, great care was taken for Building a Patriarchal Seat, and for ſettling an Annual Revenue for ſupport of the Dignity of the new Primate; to which purpoſe a place was choſen out in the Confines of *Bagemdra*, and *Dembea*, call'd *Debſan*; as alſo another in the Imperial Camp near *Dancaz*. *Reſidencies* alſo for the Fathers were built in ſeveral Provinces of the Empire to ſtock it with Jeſuits.

Maiguagua or *Fremona* in *Tigrà*.
Ganeta Jeſus, with a fair Church.
Gorgora in *Dembea*.
Azazo.
Enabeeſſe, vulgarly *Nebeſſe*.
Hadaſh, by the Portugals *Adaxà*.
Kolalà.
Leda-Negas.
Serca.
Tembhua.
Atthana in *Bagemdra*.

The ſame year alſo *Lent* was kept after the *Roman* manner, with all the Solemnities of the Paſſion Week, as alſo *Eaſter* according to the *Roman* Calendar. Which occaſion'd moſt violent Commotions over all the Empire, and more eſpecially among the Clergy and Monks. Who being ignorant of the Computation and the Cauſe, thought it a high breach of the Canons of the *Nicene Council*, and the *Paſchal Cycle* therein preſcrib'd. Neither could the Edict be equally diſpers'd over ſo many far diſtant Regions for want of Printing.

In the mean time they were very buſie in Baptizing the Converted, and ordaining of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, many of which had bin already Baptiz'd and Ordain'd. Sermons were alſo Preach'd in ſeveral places after the manner of *Europe*, wherein it was neceſſary for the Fathers to Cite many places of Scripture, if they deſir'd to be accompted Learned.

Thus

Thus the Fathers of the Society made a daily and very great Progreſs, inſomuch that the Number of Baptiz'd and Converted to the *Roman* Religion amounted to many Thouſands.

About two years after, the Patriarch made a Viſitation aſſiſted by ſome of the Sodality, in which vaſt Numbers of People were ſome of them Rebaptiz'd, others Confirm'd; to the great good-liking and applauſe of the King and his Peers, who had never ſeen ſuch things perform'd by any of their Metropolitans before. Others look'd aſquint upon theſe proſperous beginnings, ſeeking all Occaſions of new Diſturbances. Some there were that openly reſiſted, and would not permit any Prieſt under *Roman* Ordination to officiate in their Churches, nay ſome of them they kill'd out-right. As for the Countrey People, tho they were paſſively Obedient to the King's Commands, yet they lik'd their own old way beſt. Among the reſt there was one, who having receiv'd the Cuff of Confirmation, as their manner is, and being ask'd by his Neighbour how he did? *Never worſe*, ſaid He, *than I have bin ſince I receiv'd the Patriarch's Box o'th' ear.*

More than all this, there was a *Seminary* ſet up, for the Education as well of the *Habeſsine* as *Portugueſe* Children: for the Encouragement of whom, and to invite others, they caus'd ſome of the young Lads to Act a Comedy after the *European* manner. But when they brought in Devils upon the Stage, as the Scene requir'd, ſome of the ignorant People, believing them real Hobgoblins, were ſo terrify'd, that they flung out of the School, crying out, *Wajelan, Wajelan, Sajetanet ametzea: O Dear! O Dear! they have brought us Devils.*

But the enſuing Tragedies more terrify'd the wiſer ſort. For *Tecla-George*, another of the King's Sons in Law, for his Wives ſake, at difference with his Father, having drawn into the ſame Conſpiracy with him two Noblemen, *Gebra-Marjam*, and *John Acayo*, revolted openly, and by a Cryer ſolemnly proclaim'd, *That he renounc'd the* Roman *Worſhip, and would Protect the* Alexandrian *by force of Arms.* And that the world might believe he was in Earneſt, he caus'd all the Crucifixes, Roſaries, and other Ornaments of Popiſh Superſtition to be burnt in a publick fire; and to the end there might be no hopes of Reconciliation left for the Expectation

of

of Confederates, he took his Chaplain *Abba Jacob*, who officiated after the *Roman* manner, and after he had dispoyl'd him of his Stole and Hood, put him to Death.

The King could not brook so great an Indignity, and therefore sent *Kebax*, Viceroy of *Tigra*, with an Army against him, who us'd such extraordinary Diligence, that he soon surpriz'd the secure and unprovided Rebel, overthrew his Army, and took him and his Sister *Adera* Prisoners: who, because they had so furiously and contemptuously acted against the *Roman* Religion, were both hang'd upon a high Tree. Nor could all the Intercessions of the Queen, nor of all the Noble Ladies could prevail, tho they pleaded hard the disgrace done to their Sex, and that it was never before known in *Ethiopia*, that a Noblewoman was Hang'd: especially being call'd by the King to behold so sad and infamous a Spectacle. For they did not pity her because they thought her Innocent, but for the Ignominy of her Punishment.

After this follow'd several other Accidents, which as they brought a very great Odium upon the Patriarch and the Fathers, so were they reckn'd to be the Causes of the general aversness of the People to the *Roman* Religion. The Patriarch, that he might exercise all his Authority in one single Act, and shew the full extent of his Power, having taken a pett against the Captain of the King's Guards, for some frivolous Business that nothing belong'd to his Jurisdiction, publickly in the Church, in the presence of the whole Court, thunders out an Anathema against him, and sent him Post to the Devil. It seems he had taken Possession of certain Farms, which the Monks lay'd claim to, and refus'd to restore them, notwithstanding all the Admonitions of the Patriarch. The Nobleman, tho a Soldier, hearing such a most Dreadful Excommunication, by vertue whereof he was sent packing to Hell, laden with all the Curses of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, like one Thunder-strook, fell into a Sound, and lay for Dead. But the Storm did not continue long: For presently the King stept in to his relief, by whose interposition, and the Mediation of several of the Nobility, he was re-admitted into the state of Grace. However it was an Act which the Nobility took most heinously to heart; among whom there were some that frown'd and chaf'd out of meer Indignation, to see that their Church should be brought to such a degree of Servitude, that a Foreign Priest should take upon him with so

much Arrogance to Excommunicate and Bequeath to Eternal Damnation, one of the Chief Counſellors of their Kingdom, an Ancient and Famous Perſonage, for the ſake of a Litigious Farm, which the King might take when he pleas'd from the Monks themſelves, if they were the Owners.

This Flame was fed by the addition of more fuel; For the *Icegue* or Chief Abbot of the Monks being at that time lately Deceas'd, who as we have already ſaid, is the next in Dignity and Authority to the *Abuna*, he was Buried in a certain Church, conſecrated after the *Roman* manner, tho he had bin an obſtinate Zealot for the *Alexandrian* Religion. Thereupon the Patriarch, after he had ſoundly reprov'd the Rector of the Church, *Pronounc'd the Church profan'd by the Burial of a Heretic; and therefore that Maſs could not be ſaid in it.* The Rector dreading the fatal ſtroak of the ſame diſmal *Dathan* and *Abiram* Thunderbolt, that lay'd the Great Commander ſprawling, without expecting any new Command, cauſes the Carkaſs to be digg'd up again, and thrown by. This the *Habeſsines* heavily exclaim'd againſt, crying out, *That the* Franks *exerciſed more cruel Severities upon them, then their moſt exaſperated Enemies ever practis'd among them, to deprive their Dead of decent Burial: now they might all ſee what the Living were to expect.* *Tellez* adds, That a certain old Woman was caſt into Priſon, upon Suſpition of being a Witch, but was preſently ſet at liberty, becauſe it gave diſtaſte. For that the moſt Learned of the *Habeſsines* are of Opinion, *That there are now no more Magicians or Witches in the World; and therefore that the Woman was unjuſtly wrong'd, who was thrown into Priſon by the Command of the Patriarch.*

Thus the Minds of the People being generally incens'd, the King himſelf began to look upon theſe acts of ſeparate Juriſdiction in the Patriarch, as Diminutions of his Prerogative (the ancient Metropolitans never daring to attempt ſuch things), and conſequently to alienate his Affections both from him and from the *Fathers*, ſo that at length he gave ear to their Adverſaries. Who to bring down and curb the Exceſſive Power of the Patriarch, which ſeem'd ſo intolerable to them, more eſpecially becauſe they found him ſtill inexorable in Matrimonial Cauſes, prohibited by Divine and Canon-Law; but chiefly in caſes of Polygamy and Divorce; they began their Addreſſes to him for thoſe things, which they

they knew he could not deny without bringing great mischief upon himself. First, *That they might have liberty to say Mass after the ancient* Ethiopian *manner; for that the Patriarch might mend the ancient forms, where Necessity requir'd, without abrogating the whole. That the People hearing their ancient Services, would be the more quiet, in regard they would not so much mind the difference between the New and the Ancient form of Worship.* The Patriarch gave way to their desires, only mending the Ethiopic Mass, but with apparent Detriment to his Authority. For now the ancient Liturgies were every day read again without Contradiction; the Report running abroad that the Emperor was return'd to the Old Religion. The Patriarch's Power thus shaken, the Courtiers still whisper'd in the King's Ears, *That the* Roman *Religion was become odious to all the People, and that his Person would be in great Danger, unless he also forsook it himself.*

These Insinuations were back't by an Accident, which tho ridiculous in it self, gave a *being* to several Rumors and Reports. For one day an Enthusiast came into the Palace, and cry'd out, That he was sent from God and the most Holy Virgin, to declare in their own words to the *King, that unless he forthwith return'd to the antient Religion, he should within a Fortnight undergo most severe Chastisements.* The King made answer, *That he would live and die in the* Roman *Religion:* and that the Messenger might the more speedily return his answer, *Commanded him to be Hang'd.* But at the Intercession of several who asserted the poor Fellow to be Frantick, he only receiv'd a severe drubbing, for the reward of his sawcy Propheſie. Howevet tho he were laugh'd at by the Courtiers, yet he so strangely stirr'd the minds of the Vulgar, that they publickly reported, *That an Angel had bin sent from Heaven, and that he had admonish'd the King to return to the ancient* Alexandrian *Faith.* In the mean while the inbred hatred against the Fathers daily increasing, was greatly augmented by the envy of the Courtiers. For they incens'd the King and his Eldest Son against *Ras-Seelax*, the Fathers chief Friend, and Patron of the *Portugueses*, under pretence of their great care, admonshing the two Princes, *To take heed that he did not abuse the Renown he had won in War, and the favour of the* Portugueses, *to invade the Royal Dignity.* That which more heighten'd these growing Jealousies, was a misinterpreted act of *Ras-Seelax*, who having order'd one *Lecanax* to be ap-

prehended for Calumnies and Scandalous Reports thrown upon himself, caus'd him afterwards to be put to Death, tho he had appeal'd to the King. This they said was done by *Seelax*, not that the Person was guilty of the Crimes which were lay'd to his Charge, but to remove out of the way one that was Privy to the Treasons and Conspiracies of *Seelax*. Whereupon the King depriv'd him instantly of great part of his Lands, remov'd him out of *Gojam*, and took from him his Military Commands.

In the mean time, tho *Tecla-George* had suffer'd, and that the Heads of the Rebellion were taken off, yet the Rebellion it self continu'd, and the strength of it daily increas'd in such manner, that it became the Original of Dismal and Diuturnal Commotions. For the *Agawi*, that inhabit the Mountains of *Bagemdra*, had not yet lay'd down their Arms; but being, as they pretended, more and more provok'd by the King, kept them in their hands to revenge their Injuries. And the better to defend themselves, they call'd to their Aid, one *Melcax*, a young Man of the Royal Blood, who had bin bred among the *Gallans*, and created him their Leader. To him therefore, as to a Sanctuary, flock'd all those that bare any disaffection to the King, all that hated the *Roman* Religion, especially the Monks; and lastly, several of the Villagers and Country People. All these thus embody'd, were call'd *Lasteners*, from *Lasta*, a most invincible Rock, and the chief Seat of the Rebellion. And indeed it seem'd a vast Torrent of War, ready to break forth to the utter Extirpation of the Fathers, and all those of the *Roman* Religion, if it prov'd so kind to spare the Royal Family it self. Against these therefore the King, having rais'd an Army of Seven and twenty Thousand Men, marches himself in Person, but with ill success at first. For the Country People, defended by the Security of the place, as the Royalists came on, still beat them off, by rolling down whole Quarries at a time of ponderous Stones upon their heads, which having put the Royalists into great disorder, they came down, and surrounded all the King's Left Wing, so that had not *Kebax* come to their relief with 300 fresh Men, they had bin all cut to pieces. The Soldiers being discourag'd by this overthrow, the King who for that reason durst not adventure any further for that time, left part of his Army to defend the Borders, and hast'ning home, was forc'd to recall *See-lax*,

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lurking like an Exile in *Gojam*. In the mean time the Tutelar Bands, whether for fear, or finding themselves too weak, forsook their Posts, so that the *Lastaneers* ravag'd all the Country as they pleas'd, without Opposition, till *Seelax* being got within their reach, drave them back into their former Holes.

While this Rebellion rag'd in *Bagemdra*, another broke out in *Amhara*; being headed by *Luca-Marjam*, near in Blood to the Royal Family; but he being prevented and surpriz'd by the swift March of *Ras-Seelax*, ended his Days and his Design together, by falling from the Precipice of a Rock.

But the same good Fortune did not attend *Kebax*, who impatient of delay, and observing the Avenues more negligently guarded than they us'd to be, the bait that betray'd him, conceiv'd no less than that *Opportunity* it self had now proffer'd him the Victory. So in he marches, finding all clear before him for the present; but no sooner was he in, when those Mountaneers accustom'd to clamber their own Rocks, and us'd to the By-ways and conceal'd Passages of that Rock, were all on a sudden before and behind him; so that after a great Slaughter of his Men, deserted by the rest, he was himself after a matchless defence, oppress'd by Multitudes, and Slain.

His, and the Fall of *Tegur-Egzi*, which soon after follow'd, gave the Fathers no cause of Thanksgivings, but afforded their Enemies great Opportunities, and great Arguments to press the King to withdraw his Favours from them. For observing their time, when they perceiv'd him sad, and perplex'd at so much ill Success, and so many Revolts, *Oh Sir*, said they, *What will be the Issue of all these Combats and pernicious Wars? Those illiterate Swains understand not the Mysteries of the* Roman *Worship, nor any other Service of God then what they have bin bred and brought up to. They call us* Turks *and* Mahumetans, *because we have abandon'd our ancient Liturgies; for this reason they have taken Arms, and chosen to themselves a King.*

For *Melcax*, pufft up with the Success of his Affairs, was arriv'd at that height of boldness, that nothing now would serve him but the assum'd Title of a King. He had distributed his Court-Employments after the manner of the Kings of *Ethiopia* among his Friends; and daily increas'd in Num-

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ber. For all that abominated the *Fathers*, chiefly the Nobility of *Tigra*, privately gave him Encouragements, and exhorted him, *not to desist from what he had so prosperously begun; and that then, neither the Affections of the People, nor the Assistance of his Friends would be wanting.* Elated with these golden Promises, his Temerity carry'd him so far, as to send, as if he had now bin the undoubted King of *Ethiopia*, a Viceroy into *Tigra*. To this Viceroy he allow'd a Select Band of Soldiers for his Convoy; but they, neglectful and careless of their Military Duties, took their Pleasure so much, that at length surpriz'd in the midst of their Jollity by the Royalists, they were forc'd to leave Four thousand of their Party behind them, Slain upon the Spot; while the shatter'd Remainders speeded back, to lay the blame of their ill Success upon the unwary Conduct of their Leaders. But the *Lastaneers*, intent upon revenge, had at length the same advantage against the Royalists, who were straggling to destroy the approaching Harvest, and pay'd them home with equal Slaughter for Slaughter. Thus Fortune ballancing both sides, the Author of these Miscarriages was enquir'd after, and as soon found by those that watched their Opportunities. For presently *Ras-Seelax* was accus'd, as if he had bin negligent in Executing the King's Orders, and had not sent timely Succors to the over-power'd Combatants. And his Enemies so far prevail'd, that Articles were fram'd against him, to which he was compell'd to answer: which he did, and justify'd himself so well, that in words indeed he was acquitted, but in Fact condemn'd. For he was again degraded, and all his feudary Possessions and Military Employments granted away to *Basilides*.

Thus *Ras-Seelax* being once more lay'd by, it was no difficult matter to undermine the Patriarch and the Fathers. For against them the general Complaint was made, *That they had no other Design, but as they had subjected the Empire in Ecclesiastical Affairs to the* Roman *Pope, so to bring it under the Dominion of the King of* Portugal *in Seculars. To this end under the pretence of Temples and Residencies they rear'd up Castles and Walls, from whence they could never be expell'd with Spears and Arrows.* Many other things of the same Nature, they suggested, which if the King now through Age more jealous, did not absolutely believe, yet he hearken'd to them with a more easie Attention. However outwardly and publick he shew'd

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the ſame Kindneſs and Affability to the Fathers as before, and kindly receiv'd the Biſhop ſent from *Rome* to be a Coadjutor to the Patriarch. But when he brought the *Diploma's* of the Jubilee open'd at *Rome* in the year 1625. and then granted to *Ethiopia*, he was derided by moſt Men, who could not comprehend thoſe great Vertues of Indulgencies which the Biſhop boaſted of. For ſome began to Diſcourſe among themſelves like the Phariſees, *Who is this who alſo forgives Sins? Who can forgive Sins but only God?* To which the King made anſwer with a ſevere Countenance, *That the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to* Peter, *and that the uſe of thoſe Keys belong'd to the Pope, for the Granting Indulgencies.*

However the *Habeſsines*, as if thoſe Indulgencies had afforded Materials for Sin, bent themſelves ſtill more and more to Sedition and Tumult. For the Revolt of the *Laſtaneers* ſo well ſucceeding, *Sertzazax*, newly made Viceroy of *Gojam*, ſo ill repay'd the King for his new favours, that he not only revolted from him himſelf; but which was more deteſtable to think, he would have drawn in the young *Baſilides* to have conſpir'd with him againſt his own Father. And when he could not prevail upon the young Prince, he endeavour'd to have advanc'd another young Noble Gentleman of the Blood Royal, to the end he might have reign'd himſelf under his Name. But being overthrown and taken, he was drubb'd to Death. Seven of his Accomplices loſt their Heads. One of his chief Agents, becauſe he had vented horrid Blaſphemies againſt the See of *Rome*, and opprobrious words againſt the King, was hung up upon an Iron Hook driven into a high Stake; upon which, after he had hung a whole Day, becauſe he repeated the ſame Provocations in the midſt of his Torment, he was at length run thorough the Body with ſeveral Spears; and ſo ended his miſerable Life. So many, and ſuch lamentable Accidents as theſe pierc'd the very hearts of moſt People, and the *Laſtaneers*, diſpairing of Pardon, hearing of ſuch horrid Executions, were the more reſolute in their Rebellion.

Thereupon the King undertook a new Expedition with all his Forces againſt them, and had taken the very Head and Ring-leader of all the Rebels, had he not with a ſmall Retinue made a ſhift to Eſcape; yet he left behind him great

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ſtore of rich Plunder. But he could not be utterly Subdu'd, in regard that ſo many Sculking Holes, ſo many wide and ſpacious Rocks, where thoſe Savages liv'd and hid themſelves, like ſo many wild Beaſts, could neither be aſſail'd nor taken. It happen'd therefore, that Fortune wheeling about, the Rebels overthrew a Select Party of the King's Forces: and by and by with all their force lay hovering about the King's Army, which they foreſaw would in a ſhort time want Proviſion. The King therefore fearing to be clos'd up in thoſe narrow Streights, retir'd into *Dembea*, before the War was at an end. Which he did with ſo much haſt more then it was thought he needed to have done, that as it diminiſh'd his own fame, ſo it gave Courage to the Rebels.

And now the Fathers great Enemies beholding the King's Melancholly, redoubled their Complaints. *That there would never be peaceful Days in* Ethiopia, *ſo long as the* Roman *Religion bare ſo much ſway. That it was a very good Religion, but above the Capacity of the People, who would ſtill prefer the Worſhip of their Anceſtors, to which they had bin bred from their Infancy, before foreign Innovations, which they underſtood not. For who ſhould perſwade them,* That Circumciſion was evil, That the Holydaies of the Sabbath are not pleaſing to God; that the ancient Liturgy cannot be prov'd, That the *Roman* Calendar is better then the *Ethiopic*; That the Faſts of the Fourth Holyday are leſs acceptable to God, then the Faſts of the Seventh? *How much more expedient and profitable were it, to retain the ancient Ceremonies in ſuch things as do not contradict the Subſtance of Faith? But as for* Ras-Seelax, *and others that endeavour the Contrary, it was apparent they did it meerly to advance their own Deſigns againſt the King and Kingdom.*

With theſe and ſuch like Expoſtulations, the King being overcome, eſpecially finding no other way of appeaſing and quietting the *Laſteneers*, and that *Bagemdra* was almoſt all in the Hands of the Enemy, and at the ſame time all his Friends, eſpecially the Ladies of Quality laying before him the Danger he would be in, ſhould he be deſerted by his Soldiers, he at length preſs'd the Patriarch, to remit whatever poſſibly might be remitted. He foreſeeing a terrible Storm, tho ſore againſt his Will, thought 'twas high time to lower his Sails, for fear of Loſing all, while he hazarded the Saving of all. Whereupon he ſubmitted to the King's requeſt; nevertheleſs

theleſs upon Condition, *That nothing Decreed ſhould be remitted by Publick Acts, but only by a Tacit Connivance, and that in the mean time there ſhould be a Ceſſation of all Penalties, and Mulcts.*

Upon this the King intending a Third Expedition againſt the *Laſteneers*, to make his Soldiers the more ſtedfaſt and obedient, he put forth an Edict; by which, in general words an Indulgence was granted for the Exerciſe of all ancient Ceremonies, not repugnant to Faith. Thus every Perſon being left to his particular Liberty, the *Alexandrian* Worſhip was again, to the great Satisfaction of the People, freely exercis'd; but to the great grief of the *Portugueſes*, eſpecially the Patriarch, who preſently wrote to the King, complaining, *That contrary to his advice, a Lay Prince ſhould publiſh an Edict of that Nature in reference to ſpiritual Affairs*: for that it belong'd to him to ſet forth ſuch Decrees; putting him in mind of the words of *Azariah* the High-Prieſt to King *Uzziah*, and of the Puniſhment that follow'd, and admoniſhing him to amend that Fault, by publiſhing ſome other Edict, which ſhould be propos'd by the aſſiſtance of ſome one of the Fathers of the Society. The King obey'd and propounded an Edict, which contain'd Three Articles.

1. *That the Ancient Liturgy, but Corrected, ſhould be read in the Maſs.*

2. *That the Feſtivals ſhould be obſerv'd according to the ancient Computation of Time, except* Eaſter, *and thoſe other Feſtivals that depended upon it.*

3. *That whoſoever pleas'd, inſtead of the Sabbath, might faſt upon the fourth Holyday.* And then as for anſwer to the Patriarchs Complaints, he made this reply, *That the* Roman *Religion was not introduc'd into his Dominions by the Preaching or Miracles of the Fathers, but meerly by his Edicts and Commands, not by the aſſent of his People, but of his own free will, becauſe he thought it better then the* Alexandrian. *Therefore the Patriarch had no reaſon to Complain.* But theſe Conceſſions not being ſufficient, and coming too late, prov'd altogether ineffectual; not ſerving in the leaſt to pacifie the *Laſteneers*, or any other of the Diſcontented Parties.

Chap. XII.

Of the Decreaſe of the Roman *Religion, and the Reſtoration of the* Alexandrinian.

The Fathers ill Succeſs. The King prepares to reſtore the Alexandrian *Religion. Over-perſwaded by the Queen and his Son. The Decrees reſolv'd on in Council. The Patriarch makes a grave Speech to the contrary. Upbraids him with his Victories and threatens him. At length he Supplicates, but in vain. The Edict paſſes. Signify'd to the Patriarch, who propoſes a Medium. The Edict publiſh'd to the great Satisfaction of the People. The Ancient Ceremonies us'd. An Invective Satyr againſt the Fathers. The ſudden Change cenſur'd.*

WEE have hitherto ſeen the great Progreſs of the *Roman* Religion in *Ethiopia*; the Authority of the Patriarch advanc'd to the utmoſt extent; the King and his Brothers, together with a great many of the Nobility, ſome ſincerely, ſome feignedly favouring the Jeſuits. For the Latin Worſhip was with great diligence impos'd and exercis'd all over ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom. Many of the *Habeſſine* Prieſts were Ordain'd by the Patriarch; and great diligence was us'd for the building of Churches and Colleges. Already beſides the Patriarch they had increas'd their Number to One and twenty Companions, that is to ſay, Nineteen Fathers, and Two Brothers of the Society, diſtributed into Thirteen Reſidencies. Nor could the Fathers but be well pleas'd with ſo many Thouſands of Baptized and Converted People; for certainly the gaining of ſo many loſt Souls by Baptiſm was not to be deſpiſed. When on a ſuddain behold a ſuddain Change, upon which the Baniſhment of the Fathers, and the Subverſion of the *Roman* Religion enſu'd.

For the Fathers believing that the opportunity of the time was not to be neglected, made it their Buſineſs to abrogate all the *Alexandrian* Rites, even thoſe which were formerly tolerated under the *Roman* Biſhops: on the other ſide, the Common People Wedded to their Old Cuſtoms; but more eſpecially the Monks and Clergy, the chief Supporters of the old Religion, moſt ſtoutly oppos'd their Proceedings. Beſides them, ſeveral of the Nobility, either out of Hatred

of

of the *Romans*, or out of Ambition, frequently revolted, and through the ſtrength of their unacceſſible Rocks eaſily eluded the King's more mighty Power. A moſt remarkable Leſſon to teach us, *That that ſort of Worſhip to which the People are averſe, is not eaſily to be introduc'd by the Prince; and that it is no piece of Prudence or Policy to attempt the Liberty of thoſe who are well defended by the Situation of their Country.*

Therefore the King, tho otherwiſe moſt addicted to the Fathers, wearied with ſo many Exclamations of his own People, growing in years, utterly diſliking the preſent poſture of Affairs, and fearful of what might enſue, tormented with the continual Importunities of his Friends; his Jealouſie of his Brother, the Contumacy of the *Laſteneers*, the Diminution of his Prerogative, and the dread of loſing his Kingdom, at length began to think of abrogating the *Roman*, and reſtoring the ancient *Alexandrian* Worſhip. And which was more to be admir'd, a proſperous Fight with the *Laſteneers*, was that which ſettled his wavering Thoughts. For making a fourth Expedition againſt them, he came upon them ſo unlook'd for, that he gave them a Total rout, Killing eight Thouſand upon the place, with ſeveral of the Leaders of the Faction, and chief Deſerters of their King and Country. The *Portugueſes* rejoyc'd at the News, believing the Rebellion quietted by this Victory; and that for the future nothing would preſume ſo much as to hiſs againſt the *Roman* Religion. But it fell out quite otherwiſe. For they who favour'd the the *Alexandrian* Religion, the next day carry'd the King to view the Field of the Battel, and ſhewing him the multitude of the Slain, thus beſpake him. *Neither* Ethnics *nor* Mahumetans *were theſe, in whoſe Slaughter we might have ſome reaſon to rejoyce. No, Sir, they were Chriſtians, once your Subjects, and our dear Countrymen; and partly to your ſelf, partly to us related in Blood. How much more laudable would it have bin for theſe couragious Breaſts to have bin oppos'd againſt the moſt deadly of your Enemies? This is no Victory, becauſe obtain'd againſt your own Subjects. With the ſame Sword wherewith you Slaughter them, you Stab your own Bowels: Certainly they bare no hatred to us, whom we make War upon ſo cruelly. Only they are averſe to that Worſhip to which you would compel them. How many have we already kill'd upon this Change of Ceremonies? How many remain behind reſerv'd for the ſame Slaughter? When will theſe Bloody Conflicts end? Forbear, we beſeech your Majeſty, to conſtrain them*

to Novelties, and Innovations, leſt they renounce their Allegiance: otherwiſe we ſhall never behold the Face of Peace again. We are hated even by the Gallans *and* Ethnicks *for abandoning our ancient Ceremonies, and are therefore by them call'd Apoſtates.* For it ſeems that the King of *Adel*, having apprehended and put to Death two of the *Fathers* travelling into *Habeſsinia* thorow his Country, in the accompt which he gave to *Suſneus* of what he had done, haughtily call'd him Apoſtate. Nor is it to be queſtion'd but that the *Mahumetans* and Neighbouring Nations were much Scandaliz'd at the Alteration of the *Habeſsinian* into the *Roman* Religion; not out of any love to the one, or hatred to the other; but for fear the *Portugueſes*, ſtrengthen'd by the *Habeſsines* ſhould become their Maſters. The *Turks* alſo were mad that the Metropolitan of *Ethiopia* was no more to be ſent for out of *Egypt*; for by that ſame Tye they held the *Habeſsines* faſt, and lyable to what Conditions they pleas'd.

To theſe inceſſant Importunities, the Queen joyn'd the pow'rful Charms of her own Supplication, conjuring him by all the Obligations of Sacred Wedlock, and common Pledges of their undoubted Offspring, *To be well adviſed what he did; and not to ruin his Kingdom, Himſelf, his Fortune, and his whole Family.* With the ſame importunity his Eldeſt Son *Baſilides*, and his Brother by the Mothers ſide *Jamanax*, hourly ſollicited his diſturb'd mind: and the better to accompliſh their ends, they underhand procur'd the *Gallans* that ſerv'd the King, to deſire a diſmiſſion, as being unwilling to fight any longer againſt the *Habeſsines* in a quarrel about a new Religion. Thus the King's rigor mollify'd at length, *Baſilides*, after he had ſummon'd the Nobility and chiefeſt of his Father's Counſellors together, held a Council, wherein it was concluded, That there was no other remedy to allay the Diſorders of the Kingdom, but by reſtoring the *Alexandrian* Religion. And the better to perſwade thoſe that were of the Contrary Opinion, they gave it out that the *Romaniſts* and *Alexandrians* were of the ſame Opinion in points of Faith; That both affirm'd that God was true Chriſt, and true Man. And as for the aſſerting One or Two Natures, they were only words of little Moment, and not worth the Ruin of a Mighty Empire. So that the King induc'd by theſe reaſons, gave liberty to every one that pleas'd to return to the *Alexandrian* Forms.

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The Patriarch was not ignorant of these Transactions. Whereuponbeing accompanied with hisCoadjutor, & the chief of the Fathers, he desir'd Audience of the King. Which being granted, after a short Pause, *Sir*, said He, *I had thought that we had lately bin the Victors; but now I see we are Vanquish'd: On the other side the* Lasteneers, *being overthrown and put to flight, have obtain'd their desires. Before the Battel was fought 'twas then a time to Vow and Promise, but now to fulfil. The Victory was gain'd by the Catholic and* Portuguese *Soldiers, the God of Hosts favouring the Catholic Religion. These are therefore but ill returns to his Divinity; For I understand, here has bin a Decree made, giving free toleration again of the* Alexandrian *Religion. But this is not a place I see to advise with Bishops and Religious Persons; the illiterate Vulgar, the* Gallans *and* Mahumetans, *Women here give their Judgments in Matters of Religion. Consider how many Victories you have gain'd from the Rebels, since you have embrac'd the* Roman *Religion: Remember, that you embrac'd it, not compell'd by force or fear, but of your own free choice, as believing it the Truer. Neither did we come hither as Intruders; we were sent hither, by the Pope and the King of* Portugal *at your request. Neither did they ever design any other thing in their thoughts, but only to unite your Empire to the Church of* Rome. *And therefore beware of exciting their just Indignation. They are 'tis true far distant hence; but God is at hand, and will require the Satisfaction which is due to them. You will throw an indelible blemish upon the Lion of the Tribe of* Juda, *which you bear for your Atchievement; You will blur your own renown, and the Glory of your Nation: Lastly, you will be the undoubted occasion of innumerable Sins by y ur Apostacy; which that I may not see, nor feel the threatning revenge of the Almighty, Command this Head of mine to be immediately strick'n off.* This said, with tears in their Eyes, the Patriarch and his Companions fell Prostrate at the King's feet, in expectation of his Answer. The King not any way concern'd, reply'd in few words, *That he had done as much as he could, but could do no more, neither was a total alteration of Religion intended, but only a Concession of some Ceremonies.* To which the Patriarch answer'd, *That he had already tolerated some, and was ready to indulge more, which did not concern the Substance of Faith: So that he would put forth another Edict, that all things might remain as they were.* To which he receiv'd no other reply, but *That the King would send certain Commissioners to Treat and Discourse with the Fathers.* Nor had they a better answer from the Prince, who being an Artist

at

at Diſſimulation, ſent them away unſatisfy'd, with ambiguous words.

Upon the 24*th* of *June*, The favourers of the *Alexandrian* Religion, to the end they might get the Decree already mention'd put in Execution, Addreſs themſelves to the Emperor, and chooſing *Abba-Athanaſius* for their Prolocutor, beſeech him, *That he would by a Publick Edict be pleas'd to give his Subjects Liberty to return to the Religion of their Anceſtors; that otherwiſe the Kingdom would be utterly ruin'd.* The King aſſented, and order'd certain Commiſſioners to ſignifie his Pleaſure to the Patriarch. They preſently fell ſharply to work with him, and upbraided him, *with the frequent Rebellions of the People*; Ælius, Cabrael, Tecla-George, *and* Sertzac, *and with the Slaughter of ſo many Thouſands as fell with them. That the* Laſteneers *were ſtill in Arms for their ancient Religion; that all ran to them, and deſerted the King, becauſe all the* Habeſſines *pin'd after their ancient Religion. However, that for the future it ſhould be free for every one to be at his own choice which to follow: for ſo from the Time of* Claudius *till lately, there had bin Peace and Quietneſs between different Opinions, while the* Portugueſes *exercis'd theirs, the* Habeſſines *their own Religion.*

After a ſhort time of Deliberation, an Anſwer was carry'd back to the King by Father *Emanuel D' Almeyda*; *That the Patriarch underſtood that the Exerciſe of both Religions would be free in his Kingdom. That for his part he had an equal love for* Ethiopia, *as for his own Native Country; and therefore for his part he was ready to grant whatſoever might be done, with ſafety to the Purity of ſound Doctrine. But that there was ſtill a difference to be made between thoſe who had not yet embrac'd the* Roman *Religion, as the* Laſteneers, *for that they might be conniv'd at; but they who had poſitively embrac'd the* Roman *Faith, and had bin admitted to Confeſſion and the Sacraments, no indulgence could be granted to them, without committing a great Sin, to return to the* Alexandrian *Schiſm.*

By this Temperament the Patriarch deſign'd to have put a Bar upon the King and all the Court, which had already publickly made Profeſſion of the *Romiſh* Ceremonies. But the King, almoſt ſpent with Vexation and Grief, made no other anſwer than this: *How can this be done? I am now no more Lord of my own Kingdom.* So they were forc'd to depart as they came. Preſently the Drums beat, the Trum-

pets

pets ſounded, and Proclamation was made by the Voice of the Cryer. *O yez, O yez; In the firſt place we propounded to ye, the* Roman *Religion, eſteeming it the beſt. But an innumerable multitude of Men, have periſh'd through diſlike of it with* Ælius, Cabriel, Tecla-George, Sertzac, *and laſtly, with the Ruſtick* Laſtaneers. *And therefore we grant you the free Exerciſe of the Religion of your Anceſtors. It ſhall be lawful for you henceforward to frequent your own Churches, make uſe of your own Euchariſtic Arks, and to read the Liturgies after the old Cuſtom. So fare-well and Rejoyce.*

It is a thing almoſt impoſſible to be believ'd with what an Univerſal Joy this Edict was receiv'd among the People. The whole Camp, as if they had had ſome great Deliverance from the Enemy, rang with Shouts and Acclamations. The Monks and Clergy, who had felt the greateſt weight of the Fathers Hatred lifted up their Thankful voices to Heaven. The promiſcuous Multitude of Men and Women danc'd and caper'd; The Soldiers wiſh'd all happineſs to their Commanders: They brake to pieces their own and the Roſaries of all they met, and ſome they burnt. Crying out, that it was ſufficient for them to believe, That Chriſt was true God and true Man, without the unneceſſary Diſputes concerning the two Natures. From thenceforward the old Ceremonies were made uſe of in the Communion; Grapeſtone Liquor inſtead of Wine. And the Holy Name of Jeſus forbidden to be ſo frequent in their Mouths, after the *Roman* manner; and ſome that did not obſerve this Caution, they ran through with their Lances. Some few days after, a general Circumciſion was appointed, not minding the pain of ſuch a piece of Vanity, ſo they might not be thought to have neglected any thing of their ancient Rites in favour of the Fathers. Some there were alſo that us'd the ancient manner of waſhing themſelves upon the Feſtival of the Epiphany, believing themſelves thereby purify'd from the guilt of having admitted the *Roman* Religion.

Others ran about Singing for joy that *Ethiopia* was deliver'd from the *Weſtern Lyons*, Chanting forth the following Lines.

At length the Sheep of Ethiopia *free'd*
From the Bold Lyons of the Weſt,
Securely in their Paſtures feed.

St. Mark *and* Cyril's *Doctrine have o'recome*
The Folly's of the Church of Rome.
Rejoyce, rejoyce, Sing Hallelujahs *all*,
No more the Western Wolves
Our Ethiopia *ſhall enthrall.*

And thus fell the whole Fabrick of the *Roman* Religion, that had bin ſo long rearing with ſo much Labour and Expence, and which had coſt the Effuſion of ſo much Blood to pull it down. So vaſt and haughty Tow'rs that have bin long time Built, if once you undermine the Foundation, tumble in a moment. Some there were who accus'd the Fathers of the Society, as if they had ruin'd the fair Progreſs they had made by double Diligence, and over-haſty Zeal. For moſt of the *Portugueſes*, and many of the *Habeſines* themſelves that were well affected to the *Roman* Religion took it ill, that things ſhould be ſo ſuddainly chang'd, which might have bin longer let alone, without the leaſt injury done to fundamental Faith. For as tall Trees, that have taken deep root, are not eaſily Eradicated, ſo inveterated Opinions, which we have as it were ſuck't in with our Mother's Milk are not to be overcome but by length of time, great Lenity, and much Patience. For Humane underſtanding, if compell'd, puts on Obſtinacy as it were in revenge of injur'd Liberty. Nor did ſome that were the Fathers great Friends make any Queſtion, that had they left ſome things indifferent, which the Pope himſelf many times freely tolerates, ſo it be acknowledg'd as the Act of his Benignity and Diſpenſation, as the Computations of the holy Times, the Communion under both Kinds, and ſome other things which the Primitive Church without any Scandal tolerated and permitted, as the Marriage of Prieſts, the Faſt of the fourth Holyday, the Obſervation of the Sabbath, and ſome other things which depended meerly upon Cuſtom, and not upon Divine Precept, and had only minded in the mean time the Buſineſs of Converſion and Preaching, they had gain'd not only the *Habeſsines*, but the Pagans themſelves, and working by degrees, had brought their deſign at length to perfection. But they relying wholly upon the Favour and Succeſſes of the King were preſently for compelling the *Habeſsines* to conform of a ſuddain in all things to a ſtrange and uncouth Innovation. The Latin Tongue muſt be us'd in

their

their Publick Sacred Worſhip, and their daily Prayers, the Angelical Salutation, the Lord's Prayer and the Apoſtolic Creed muſt be ſaid in Latin, written in the Ethiopic Characters, in which *Eve Maria grazia Plena*, &c. ſounded ſtrangely and odly to the *Habeſsinian* Pronunciation. Which by degrees ſo alienated the Affections of the *Habeſsinians* from ſuch a ſort of aukward Devotion, ſo that at length all the Wars, Seditions, Peſts of Locuſts, Famine, and all the Calamities that follow'd, and the ſevere Penalties that were inflicted upon the *Alexandrians* were lay'd upon the *Fathers*; which begat them Hatred inſtead of Reverence, and Baniſhment in the room of Favour and Affection.

From what has bin ſaid, Men of Prudence will eaſily find the cauſes of ſo great a Mutation. Nevertheleſs it will not be improper to add thoſe other which *Tellez.* has aſſign'd.

Firſt he ſays, That the ſtrict Tyes and Laws of Matrimony according to the Catholic Faith, were not ſo well brook'd by the *Habeſsinians*, being allow'd by the *Alexandrian* Religion, to Marry one or more, and to Divorce, as they ſaw good.

Secondly, That beſides Incontinency, Avarice, Ambition, Envy, Hatred had got a head among them, eſpecially againſt *Ras-Seelax*, whoſe Power they could find no better way to pull down, than by Perſecuting the *Fathers*; for whom he had ſo indear'd a Kindneſs.

Thirdly, That many were poſſeſs'd of the Church Lands, of which they were unwilling to make reſtitution.

Fourthly, That the Secular Judges complain'd that the Patriarch ſummon'd all Matrimonial Cauſes to his Tribunal.

Fifthly, That others were enrag'd to ſee Churches built with Lime and Stone; for they call'd them Caſtles, not Churches, built by *Ras-Seelax*, to the end he might make himſelf Maſter of *Ethiopia*.

Sixthly, That the Monks were incens'd, to ſee the Fathers only in Eſteem, and themſelves formerly ſo highly reverenc'd, afterwards contemn'd and ſlighted; ſo

that as the other grew great, they ſhould become nothing at all.

Seventhly, That the *Habeſsines* always appeal'd to the Manners and Rites of their Anceſtors, not believing it to be juſt, to condemn them of Error, who had bin accompted Holy Men for ſo many Ages; or to hear and follow Innovations, neglecting the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Forefathers. For through the vitiouſneſs of Humane Malignity, ſaith *Quintilian*, Old things are always applauded, Novelties held to be loathſome. So that although you overcome the reaſon by Argument, you can never ſubdue the Will.

Eighthly, That the Devil had put it into the Heads of ſeveral Catholicks to make a correſponding Agreement between the Catholick and the *Alexandrinian* Religion; aſſerting all to be Chriſtians, as well *Alexandrians* as *Romans*. That all believe in Chriſt; That Chriſt ſaves all; That there is little Difference between both Religions; That both have Conveniencies and Inconveniencies, their Truths and their Errors, but that the Wheat was to be ſeparated from the Cockle.

Ninthly, That the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures ſeem'd very heavy to the *Habeſsines*; eſpecially when they heard the Patriarch name *Dathan* and *Abiram* in the Excommunication.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Expulsion of the Patriarch, and the Exilement of the Fathers of the Society.

The Alexandrians *quarrel with the Fathers; who are accurs'd. Their Churches taken from them.* Susneus *Dyes.* Ras-Seelax *renouncing the* Alexandrian *Religion is Overthrown and Banish'd. Others put to Death. The Fathers Dispossessed of their Goods. Sent to* Fremona. *The Patriarch by Letters Demands of the King the Causes of his Banishment, and a New Dispute. The King's Answer. The Fathers depart for* Fremona; *Afterwards quite thrown out of the Kingdom.*

AFter the Publication of the King's Edict, the *Alexandrians* being now absolute Victors, endeavour'd with all their industry to be quit with the Fathers, and expel them quite out of *Habessinia.* To which purpose they omitted no occasion of daily quarrel and contention: First accusing the Patriarch for endeavouring by Seditious Sermons to stir up the People to Sedition, and to turn them from the *Alexandrian* Religion; for that he had openly exhorted his Hearers to *Constancy.* But understanding that *Basilides* was displeas'd, and gave out threatning words, they thought it requisite to act more moderately. Soon after the *Fathers* Churches were taken from them, believing that would be a means to put a stop to the *Roman* Worship. And first they were constrain'd to quit their Cathedral at *Gorgora,* a stately Structure after the *European* manner. At their departure they carry'd with them all their Sacred Furniture, brake all the Sculpture, and spoil'd the Pictures, that they might not leave them to be the sport of their Adversaries: doing that themselves, which they thought the *Habessines* would do. And this Example they follow'd in all other places from whence they were expell'd. In the mid'st of these Transactions, *Susneus*'s Distemper increasing, and more and more augmented by his continual anguish of Mind, he ended this Life the 16th day of *Decemb.* 1632.

The King being Dead, the Fathers Adverſaries ſet upon *Ras-Seelax* in the firſt place, as the Principal Favourer and Protector of the *Roman* Religion: and firſt of all they promiſe him all his former Dignities, all his Poſſeſſions and Goods, upon Condition he would return to the *Alexandrian* Religion. Upon his refuſal, they bring him bound in Chains before the King, and pronounce him guilty of Death. But the King declaring that he would not pollute his hands with the Blood of his Uncle, commanded him to be carry'd to a certain remote Place, near to *Samenar*, and ſequeſter'd his Goods. And as he was great, ſo was he attended in his fall by ſeveral others, as *Atzai-Tino*, Secretary of State, and the King's Hiſtoriographer, *Walata Georgiſſa*, the Queens Couſin. In ſhort, whoever had favour'd the Fathers, were all ſent into Exile, and ſome put to Death, perhaps becauſe they had bin more bitter in their Expreſſions than others againſt the *Alexandrian* Religion. For ſome had call'd it, *a Religion for Dogs.* After all this the Enemies of the Fathers ſtill inſiſted, *That nothing was yet done, ſo long as the Patriarch and the Fathers were ſuffer'd to abide within the Confines of the Kingdom: Neither would the* Laſtaneers *be quiet till they heard the Fathers were all thrown out of* Ethiopia, *but would look upon all things tranſacted for the re-eſtabliſhment of the* Alexandrian *Religion as fictitious Stories.*

There needed not many words to preſs him that was already willing. Firſt of all therefore, their Goods and Poſſeſſions were taken from them; then all their Arms, eſpecially their Muſquets and Fire-Arms. But before that, they were ſent to *Fremona*, where, as we have already declar'd, *Oviedo* the Patriarch reſided for ſome time. But before their Departure, the Patriarch wrote a certain Letter to the King, to this Effect:

I did not adventure to come into Habeſſinia *with my Companions, of my own accord, but by the Command of the* Roman *Pontiff, and the King of* Portugal, *at the requeſt of your Father, where having taken the King's Oath of Obedience, I officiated the Office of Patriarch in the Name of the* Roman *Pontiff, and the King of* Portugal. *Now becauſe you Com-*

mand

mand me to depart, my humble requeſt is, that your Majeſty would ſet down the Cauſes of my Exilement in Writing, ſubſcrib'd with your own, and the hands of ſome of your Counſellors and Peers, that all the World may know whether I am compell'd to ſuffer for my Life and Converſation, or for the ſake of my Doctrine. I granted the Ceremonies deſired by your Father, except the Communion under both Kinds, which only the Pope himſelf can diſpute with. The ſame alſo I again offer, ſo that you and your Subjects will yield Obedience to the Church of Rome *as the head of all other Churches. My laſt requeſt is, That as the Matter was Debated at firſt, ſo it may be referr'd to another Diſpute; by which means the Truth of the whole affair will more manifeſtly appear.*

To this Writing the King thus reply'd, *Whatever was done by me before, was done by the Command of my Father, whom I was in Duty bound to Obey; ſo that I was forc'd to wage War under his Conduct, both with Kindred and Subjects. But after the laſt Battel of* Wainadega *the Learned and Unlearned Clergy and Layety, Civil and Military, young and old, all ſorts of Perſons made their Addreſſes to my Father, Crying out,* How long ſhall we be perplexed and wearied with unprofitable things? How long ſhall we encounter Brethren and Kindred, cutting off the right hand with the left? How long ſhall we thruſt our Swords into our own Bowels? Eſpecially ſince we learn nothing from the *Roman* Religion but what we knew before. For what the *Romans* call the two Natures in Chriſt, his Divinity and his Humanity, that we knew from the beginning to this time. For we all believe that our Lord Chriſt is perfect God and perfect Man; perfect God in his Divinity, and perfect Man in his Humanity. But in regard thoſe Natures are not ſeparated nor divided; for neither of them ſubſiſt of its ſelf, but both of them conjoyn'd the one with the other; therefore we do not ſay that they are two things. For one is made two, yet ſo as the Natures are not mix'd in their Subſiſtence. *This Controverſie therefore among us is of little moment; neither was it for this that there has bin ſo much Bloodſhed among us, but chiefly becauſe the Blood was deny'd to the Layety, whereas Chriſt has ſaid in his Goſpel,* Unleſs ye eat the fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood,

ye

ye ſhall not have life everlaſting; *and when he inſtituted the Holy Supper, he did not ſay, The Blood is in my Body, which I have given to you alone; but take and drink, and partake all. From that time the Diſciples did as they were commanded. The Intermiſsion of the Faſt of the fourth Holyday, which is nevertheleſs enjoyn'd by the Canons of the Holy Apoſtles: as alſo a various manner of Faſting in the Time of* Lent. *Beſides by altering the Order of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Computation in reference to the Annual Feſtivals, and the Permiſsion of all Perſons to enter into the Church, without any diſtinction of clean or unclean; theſe are the things that gave offence to our People. But they deteſted nothing more, than the reiteration of Baptiſm, as if we had bin Heathens, before we had bin Baptiz'd by the Fathers. They re-ordain'd our Prieſts and Deacons, they burnt the wooden Cheſts of our Altars, and Conſecrated ſome Altars of their own, as if ours had not bin Conſecrated before. The Monks alſo complain'd, that their Inſtitutions were abrogated. Theſe and others of the ſame Nature were the true Cauſes, that we abandon'd the* Roman *Faith, tho it was not we who gave it Protection but our Father. And therefore, becauſe the* Alexandrian Abuna *is now upon his Journey hither, and hath ſent us word, that he cannot live or joyntly act in the ſame Kingdom with the* Roman *Patriarch, and the Fathers, we command you to haſten to* Fremona. *Thoſe things are offer'd now too late, which might have bin eaſily at firſt allow'd: For now there is no returning to that, which all the whole Nation abhors and deteſts: for which reaſon, all farther Colloquies and Diſputes will be in vain.*

The Patriarch relates in his Epiſtle to the King of *Spain*, That that ſame Metropolitan, of whom the King makes mention, came ſome years before into *Ethiopia*, but lay privately conceal'd in *Enarea*, where hearing of the diſowning and caſting off the Patriarch, he brake out into this farther Expreſſion, to the King, *That he could not officiate in his Office, unleſs the Patriarch and the Fathers were either put to Death, or Baniſh'd to perpetuity.* So that the Patriarch and the Fathers were forc'd to obey the King's Command, not without a long Diſpute about their Guns, which they would willingly have kept for their own Preſervation; but they were forc'd to deliver them up, that they might be of no uſe to the *Portugals*, who were coming, as it was fear'd and reported, to their aſſiſtance. Thus the Patriarch with all the Fathers that were then in the Country, were conſtrain'd to leave

their

their warm Seats after an Enjoyment of Eight years ſtanding. In their return they met with various Misfortunes, and were frequently infeſted with Thieves, before they could get to *Fremona*. But becauſe they foreſaw, that would be no abiding place for 'em of any long continuance, they preſently reſolv'd to ſend away ſome of the Fathers before into *India*, to give the Vice-Roy an accompt of the ſtate of their affairs, and to deſire ſome remedy, that is to ſay, a good ſufficient ſtrength of *Portugueſis*. But before they could obtain that, they receiv'd freſh Commands from the King (who 'tis very probable ſmelt their Deſign) to remove from *Fremona* and be gon. But they ſang loath to depart a great while, and to ſpin out time, privately retir'd to one *John Akay*, formerly an Enemy to the King, who not being able to defend them, they were pull'd out thence by the Ears, and in *May* 1634. deliver'd to the *Turks*, and firſt carry'd to *Arkiko* and *Matzua*, after that to *Suaqena*, and brought beore the *Turkiſh Baſha*. And indeed there was nothing more that provok'd the *Habeſsines*, as *Gregory* told me, then that they ſhould require aid of the Military Power from *India* to eſtabliſh their Religion: *They might*, ſaid he, *have ſhaken the duſt from their ſhoes at their departure, as the Apoſtles were commanded; but they were for ſettling Religion with Swords and Guns.* Which was not done ſo ſecretly but it came to the Ears of the *Habeſsines*; for it ſeems that ſome of their Train, vext at ſome Misfortune or other, had imprudently threaten'd it. Which was one reaſon among others that their Churches built of Stone and Morter, and their Guns were taken from them.

Chap. XIV.

Of what happen'd after the Departure of the Patriarch and the Fathers out of Ethiopia.

The Condition of the Biſhop and his Aſſociates privately left behind. The Patriarchs miſery among the Turks. Peter Heyling *a German Diſputes with him.* Peter *entertain'd by the King of* Habeſſinia. *Various reports concerning his Death. The Patriarch redeems himſelf. He ſends* Hierom Lobo *for Aſſiſtance, who cannot ſpeed. The favourers of the Fathers put to Death in* Ethiopia. *Now admitted into* Habeſſinia. *Six Capuchins ſent again; their ill ſucceſs. Three more ſent after them; their ſad Misfortune.* Nogueira *Hang'd.* Mendez *dyes in* India. *After that no News from* Habeſſinia.

NOtwithſtanding the King's Commands to all in general, the Patriarch left behind privately in ſeveral places *Apollinaris Almeyda*, *Hiacynthos Franciſco*, *Ludovigo Cordeyra*, *Bruno Bruni* and ſome others, who after they had liv'd miſerably for ſome time, lurking up and down, at laſt were moſt of them Hang'd. In the mean time he himſelf ſpent almoſt a whole year in great Vexation, and full of ſorrow among the Barbarous *Turks* in *Suaqena*, almoſt melted by the Sun. But nothing more increas'd the anguiſh of his Mind, than the News of the New Metropolitan's arrival out of *Egypt*, and that it ſhould be his misfortune to be conſtrain'd to behold him as he paſs'd by. He had in his Train a certain *German*, whoſe Name was *Peter Heyling*, a Native of *Lubeck*, a young Gentleman eminent for Probity and Learning, a Profeſſor of the *Auguſtan*, or *Lutheran* Religion, and generally call'd by the Title of *Muallim*, that is in Arabic, *Doctor Peter*. He being deſirous to ſee the world, and learn the Arabic Language, was arriv'd about that time in *Egypt*, and was very much eſteem'd for his Piety and Modeſty by the *Coptites*, and hearing that the Metropolitan was going for *Ethiopia*, he obtain'd leave to go in his Train, and by that means met the Patriarch *Alphonſus* at *Suaqene*. Preſently he undertook to encounter him, oppoſing ſeveral Opinions and Tenents of the *Roman* Church, and expounding in Arabic to the ſtanders by, whatever was ſaid on both ſides. The Patriarch in a heat

deſir'd

desir'd him to forbear that Explanation, because he did not understand the Arabic. To which the other answer'd, That he Disputed, for others to hear as well as himself. The Disputation being ended, The Patriarch, turning to his Companions, sighing, told them, *That if that Doctor went into* Habessinia, *he would precipitate the whole Country into Heresie.* He was no sooner arriv'd there, but he became very acceptable to the King, who gave him a Tent, and all things necessary. Concerning his Death, various Reports were spread abroad. For some said, That being most graciously and kindly entertain'd by the King, he dy'd in *Habessinia*: Others, that being honourably dismiss'd by the King, he was murder'd by certain Arabian Thieves.

As for the Patriarch, after a long Captivity and very bad Usage from the *Turks*, he was at length set at Liberty, after he had pay'd for himself and his Companions a Ransom of 4000 *German* Dolars, and so at length got safe to *Goa*. Where, tho he were advis'd to go himself into *Portugal*, and give an accompt of the afflicted State of *Ethiopia*, he thought it the better way to send *Jeronymo Lobo*, with order to desire the Aid of a sufficient Military Power, to restore him to his lost See. Thereupon the diligent Jesuit, not only went into *Portugal*, but also to *Mantua* to *Philip* the Fourth, and from thence to *Rome*. But all his Negotiations prov'd ineffectual; whether it were that they did not think it at that instant so Apostolical a way to propagate the Gospel by force of Arms; or whether it were that they did not like the Charge of an Expedition, from whence they could hope for little good, there being no considerable Party in the Kingdom to give them footing, and the encouragement of Assistance. For the King watchful over all casualties, put all to Death that favour'd the *Roman Fathers*. Which occasion'd the Ruin of many of the Nobility; among the rest *Tecla-Selax*; and several Priests that had taken *Roman* Orders; and all the Fathers, except *Bernard Nogueyra*, whom the Patriarch had created his Vicar. For tho the Patriarch attempted afterwards to send several other Fathers, yet all their Endeavours were in vain; so that for a long time he could learn no News concerning the State of Ecclesiastical Affairs in *Habessinia*. For the King fearing lest the *Portugueses* should invade his Dominions in revenge of the Fathers, had brib'd the *Turkish* Basha's of

Suaqena and *Matzua*, willing enough to that of themſelves, not to admit entrance to any of the *Franks*.

The News of which coming to *Rome*, the Minds of men were variouſly affected. The greateſt part were ſorry that all their fair hopes of retaining *Ethiopia* in Pontifical Obedience were quite cut off. Others blam'd the Fathers of the Society, that through their Arrogance and Imprudence in managing the Temper and Diſpoſition of the *Habeſsines*, they had ruin'd both themſelves and the *Roman* Religion; whereas they ought to have made it their Buſineſs to have acted chiefly and in the firſt place for the Majeſty, and Authority of the Pope over the Univerſal Church, and willingly to have ſuffer'd all Miſeries, and Martyrdoms, rather than have quitted their Station. *Tellez* involves theſe particulars in a general Relation, ſaying, That ſeveral Malevolent Reports were ſpread about in *Rome*; and ſome there were who gave out, That the *Fathers*, out of meer deteſtation of their Perſons, and hatred of the whole Nation of *Portugal* were ejected out of *Habeſsinia*: and that if other Preachers were ſent, the *Habeſsines* would willingly embrace both them and their Doctrine. Which was a thing to be done with much leſs Expence, and more probable to come to effect than *Lobo*'s Project of ſending an Army.

Therefore the *Congregation for propagating the Faith*, took another Courſe, and ſent Six *Capuchin* Fryers, all *Frenchmen*, with Letters of Recommendation and ſafe Conduct from the Emperor of the *Turks* himſelf, with Orders to try what they could do in *Habeſsinia*. Two of theſe going by Sea, landed at *Magadoſo*, ſeated upon the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Africa*; but before they could get many Leagues up into the Countrey, they were knock't o'the head by the Cafers. Two of them got as far as the Confines of *Habeſsinia*; but being diſcover'd, they were preſently Commanded either to return back, or make Profeſſion of the *Alexandrian* Religion; and upon their refuſal to do either, were preſently ſton'd to Death. Of which, when the other two that ſtay'd at *Matzua* had notice, they rather choſe to return home again than ſuffer Martyrdom to no purpoſe.

Nevertheleſs Three other *Capuchins*, in hopes of better Fortune, reſolv'd to make one tryal more; who when they arriv'd at *Suaqena*, I know not by what advice, wrote Letters to the *Abyſsine* King, as it were to Congratulate him upon their

Three Capuchins beheaded in the yeare 1648 by the Comand of Basilides King of the Habessines

1 The Citie and Iland of Suagen
2 The red Sea.
3. The Turkish Basha Gouernour of the Iland
4. F. Felix de S. Severino
5. F. Antonio de Patra Pagana
6. F. Joseph Tortulano

their arrival. But the King to retaliate their Kindneſs, wrote back not to them, but to the Baſha of *Suaqena*, to ſend him only their Heads; which the Baſha in hopes of a Reward, very readily did, with a more than ordinary Ceremony. For after he had caus'd their Heads to be ſtrucken off, he order'd the Skins to be flea'd off, and ſo ſent them to the King, that by their Colour he might know them to be *Franks*, and by their Shaving to be *Prieſts*.

At length alſo *Bernard Nogueira* was apprehended, the laſt of all the Fathers, and fairly Hang'd. As for the Patriarch *Mendez*, he liv'd in *India* till the year 1656. Where in the 22d of his Exile, and the 77th of his Age he dy'd upon the 29 day of *January*. He was endu'd with moſt accompliſh'd gifts both of Body and Mind, very Tall, and of a firm Conſtitution of Body, well read both in the Greek and Latin, and every way fitted for his Employment. Neither had he wanted Prudence, had not the King's Favour and Succeſs which oftentimes intoxicate the Wiſeſt of Men, tranſported him out of the way to act with that violence and ſeverity where gentleneſs and caution were ſo requiſite. By which means, inſtead of gaining, he was forc'd to ſuffer the ſhameful detriment of that Authority, which he had too far extended. Others, as *Gregory* told me, excus'd him, for that upon his arrival he found things ſo far driven on by the Miſſionaries, that he could not with Honour recede from what they had done. Since the Death of the Patriarch we have had no certain Relations out of *Habeſsinia*. In the year 1652. a new Metropolitan was ſent into *Ethiopia*, who had bin ſeen by many *Europeans* in *Egypt*, and was ſucceeded afterwards by ſeveral others, as we have gather'd from certain Relation. From whence we may infer, That the report of *Tellez* was a thing fram'd out of Envy; as if the King of the *Habeſsines* had ſent his Ambaſſadors into *Arabia*, to deſire thence Mahometan Doctors, with an intention to embrace Turciſm, which no man can think probable, from what has bin already related. For how is it likely that he who could not Protect the ſplendid Religion of the *Romiſh* Church, and the ſpecious Doctrines of the Fathers, becauſe they were thought by the *Habeſsines* to be repugnant to Scripture, and the Decrees of the Primitive Church, ſhould be able to admit of the Vanity and Abſurdity of Mahumetiſm: the Original and Progreſs of which is ſo well known to the *Habeſsines* already.

A Religion that did not prevail by *ſuffering* and *well doing* like the Chriſtian Religion, but by force of Arms was obtruded upon Barbarous and Diſcording Nations. The Clergy and Monks ſo wedded to their *Alexandrian* Religion would no more endure it than they did the ſuperſtition of *Suſneus*. So that ſhould the King and his Peers be ſo vain as to attempt a thing ſo deteſtable to his People, he could not expect but to be more vigorouſly and generally oppos'd than ever his Father was. But laſtly, the King's Letters of the laſt Date to the Governor of *Batavia* beginning with a Chriſtian Preface ſufficiently demonſtrate, that he was a Chriſtian, when *Tellez* rais'd that report. However if any thing of freſher intelligence ſhall come to our hands at any time, we ſhall freely and truly impart it to Public view.

The End of the Third Book.

A

OF THE Private Affairs OF THE HABESSINIANS: More particularly of their OECONOMIES.

BOOK. IV.

CHAP. I.

Of the Letters used by the Ethiopians.

They obtain'd the use of Letters with their Divine Worship. The Original of the Greek and Latine Letters. The Ethiopic *more agreeable with the* Samaritan *then* Hebrew *Characters. The Inventor of theirs, ignorant both of the* Hebrew *and* Greek: *The Letters ancient, but not all invented at the same time. The* Amharic *Characters. The story of the* Chaldaic *and Holy Character refuted.*

THat Learning and Divine Worship generally go together, we have hinted already. For we see it has so happen'd among most Nations of *Europe*; which when they gave the name to the Latine Church, entertain'd also its Letters, and most of its words. Sometimes also New Letters have abolish'd the use of Old ones, as we find by the Example of the (*a*) *Runic* Letters of the Ancient

(*a*) *They are call'd* Runer *in the North, and are to be seen engrav'd upon Stones in several places. See* Wormias's Runic Literature *and the* Runic Lexicon *Printed at* Copenhagen.

Goths, in the time of Christianity. Thus the *Russians* receiv'd their Letters, together with their Divine Worship from the *Greek* Church. Over all the *East*, and the greatest part of *Africa*, the *Arabic* Literature and Language crept in, together with *Islamism*, the Ancient *Persian* being thrown out, and all other Nations, if there were any that us'd the *Arabic* Letters before. And as for our own Native Characters, as we express them in Writing, though they seem to differ very much from the *Latine* and *Greek*, especially while the Letters are so vary'd and transform'd with the strokes and dashes of various hands as fancy and swiftness of Writing guides the Pen, yet if we more accurately consider the old Characters, and those the same as they appear in Printing, we shall find it no great difficulty to derive them from the Ancient *Latine*.

It is the Ancient Opinion of the Learned, That *Cadmus* recommended the *Phenician* Letters to the *Greeks*; and the *Greeks* to the *Latines*; and they to all the rest of *Europe*; first by means of their Conquests, then of their Religion, though there be every where a great difference in the shape of the Letters: among those Nations also that use the *Arabic* Letters, there is a vast variety of Writing. Not to speak of the *Persians* and *Turks*, but of the *Moors*, and *Western People* of *Africa*, whose Letters, though Originally *Arabic*, you shall hardly understand.

But as to what concerns our *Ethiopic Letters*, some of them indeed may correspond in Name, but in shape there is not the least appearance of similitude: so that if an Argument were to be drawn from the Letters, we might say, that the *Ethiopians* receiv'd neither their Divine nor Civil Worship from the *Israelites*. Nevertheless they seem to have some correspondence with the *Samaritan* Characters, which many most Judicious Men acknowledge for the Original and Genuine Letters of the Ancient *Hebrews*: and yet neither will these without a great deal of Labour, be brought to any Assimulation. We shall give you a view of the two *Alphabets* both together.

Samar.

Samar.		*Ethiop.*	*Samar.*		*Ethiop.*
Aleph	𐤀	ሀ: Alf.	Lamed	𐤋	ለ: Lawi.
Beth	𐤁	በ: Bet.	Mem	𐤌	መ: Maj.
Gimel	𐤂	ገ: Geml.	Nun	𐤍	ነ: Nahas.
Daleph	𐤃	ደ: Dent.	Samech	𐤎	ሰ: Saat.
He	𐤄	ሐ: Haut.	Ain	𐤏	ዐ: Ain.
Wau	𐤅	ወ: Waw.	Pe	𐤐	ፈ: Af.
Zajin	𐤆	ዘ: Zaj.	Tzode	𐤑	ጸ: Tzadai.
Cheth	𐤇	ሀ: Hharm.	Kuf.	𐤒	ቀ: Kof.
Teth	𐤈	ጠ: Tait.	Reſh	𐤓	ረ: Rees.
Jod	𐤉	የ: Jaman.	Shin	𐤔	ሠ: Saut.
Caf.	𐤊	ከ: Caf.	Tau	𐤕	ተ: Tawi.

In this Scheme, we have not follow'd any *Samaritan* Alphabet, but ſelected them out of the ſeveral Figures, which the moſt Famous *Walton* has produc'd in his preparation for the *Polyglotton*, which ſeem'd more like our *Ethiopians*. For my part I am not apt to believe, that the Inventor of the *Ethiopic* Letters who is yet to me unknown, had any knowledge either of the Ancient *Greek*, or theſe *Samaritan* Letters; or that he receiv'd them from any other for the certain uſe of Religion, but that they were found and ordered by particular fancy, for the uſe of the *Ethiopic* Pronunciation, which is manifeſt from the different diſpoſition of the Letters, the different Order of the Points, and manner of Reading, contrary to the Cuſtom of all the *Eaſtern* People, who begin from the Left to the Right; and laſtly from the *Greek* Numerical Characters. But that they are very old, is apparent from hence, for that ſeveral Characters carry the ſame Pronunciation, and are therefore by the *Abeſſines* promiſcuouſly us'd in their Writing. Formerly I am of Opinion, they had a different ſound; for it ſeems not probable that the firſt Inventor would accommodate two or three Letters various in ſhape, to one pronunciation. Then again they were not invented together, nor at the ſame time; for the *Greek* π or the P of the *Latines* was wanting of old among the *Ethiopians*, and the other *Oriental Languages* that were of the ſame Pedegree; (*b*) inſtead of which, they us'd either their Forrain *Pait*, in pronouncing *Peter* and *Paul*; or elſe the Letter *Bet* B. after the manner of the *Arabians*, who

(*b*) *Many Learned men make uſe of* Dageſh *ſoft, inſtead of the invented* Maſoretick *one; otherwiſe the Seventy Interpreters, who themſelves were* Jews, *had expreſſed the Initial Letter* ב, *which we now pronounce* Pe, *by a* π *and not* φ *in the words* φαλὲγ, φαραὼ *which the* Jews *at this day utter* Peleg, Paraoh.

ſay and write *Beter*, *Baul*, *Ibraxis*, or the Acts of the Apoſtles from the Greek Word Πεάξεις.

The Ancient *Germans* alſo wanted the Letter *P*, and therefore in *Forrain*, they put forth the Letter *F* with a kind of ſtraining.

Pfaff Papa. *Pfaal* A Lake. *Pfan* A Peacock.

Pfeben A Melon *Pfund* A Pound. *Pfrund* A Prebendary. Or elſe they uſed *B*, for *P*, as *Babenburgh*, now *Bamburgh* for *Papenburgh*, *Popes-Town*. *Bapſt* from the *Greek* Word *Pappas*. At length the *Habeſſines* alſo receiv'd the Letter *Pa*, and plac'd it laſt in their *Alphabet*. But after the *Amharic* Dialect took place of the Native Language, ſeven new Characters were to be added, that ſo the caſual Words of this Dialect might be expreſſed: beſides theſe, they have no other Letters either in Sacred or Prophane Books. The Book of *Councils* written Two hundred and forty Years ago, extant at *Rome*, has no other Characters; ſo that I am conſtrain'd to admire, what thoſe good honeſt *Habeſſinian Prieſts*, living then at *Rome*, otherwiſe very ignorant, meant, by talking to *Athanaſius Kircher*, concerning a double Character; telling him, *That the Prieſts and more Learned ſort made uſe of the Ancient* Surian *and* Holy Character; *but that now all the* Habeſſine *promiſcuouſly ſpoke the Vulgar and Common* Habeſſine. For where are any ſuch *Ethiopic* Books extant, written in the *Surian* or *Chaldaic* Characters? When, and where the *Sacred* Books began to be Written in the Vulgar Character? There never was any ſuch thing either written or ſaid by any Perſon of Credit.

CHAP. II.

Of the Books and Learning of the Ethiopians.

Books not holy reckon'd Ethiopic. *Their Studies what? No written Laws. Lamentable Physicians. Nor better Philosophers. Of the mixture of the Elements in Humane Bodies. They hold two Souls. In Mathematicks not absurd. They love Poetry, but only Divine; all in Rhime, various sorts. Riddles and Proverbs. Desirous of the Latine: The Fathers would not teach them.* Arabic *frequent. Their Epistolary Style.*

BEsides *Sacred Books*, the *Habessines* have but very few others. For the Story of (*f*) *Barratti*, who chatters of a Library containing Ten Thousand Volumes, 'tis altogether vain and frivolous. Some few we had an Account of. One call'd the *Glory of Kings* already mention'd. I know not whether it be that of which *Tellez* Writes, because it is of high Authority among the *Habessines*; and as it were a Second Gospel, and preserv'd in the Pallace of *Axuma*. In that is Recorded the History of the *Queen of Sheba* and others, to which the *Habessines* give great Credit. A *Chronicle*, cited by King *Claudius* in his Confession of Faith.

The *Book of Philosophy*, much esteem'd in *Ethiopia*.

The *Ladder*, a *Vocabulary*; in that the most difficult words are Expounded in *Amharic*, and *Arabic*, but very unfortunately and perversly: As the following Example about *Gemms* will Testifie: It was sent me by *Gregory*.

The *Jasper* in the *Pentateuch*, and *Apocalyps*, in the *Arabic*: the Colour of it is White and Red.

The *Saphyr* in the *Pentateuch* and *Apocalyps* in *Arabic*.—The Colour of it, is like a burning Cole: he meant the *Carbuncle*, now call'd the *Ruby*.

They meddle with no Studies, but those of their own Learned Language, and Sacred Matters. Most believe, they

(*f*) *Urreta did not think worth while to tell so modest an untruth: The most celebrated Libraries, saith he, that ever had Renown, were nothing in respect of* Presbyter John's; *the Books are without Number, richly and artificially Bound: Many to which* Solomon's, *and the* Patriarchs *Names are Affixt.* Godignus *explodes him*, l. 1. c. 17. *Yet* Gallesius, *in his late Discourse concerning* Libraries *averrs the same: and adds, That Chancellor* Seguiers *Library contains more Books than any* Ethiopic *Library*.

have

have enough, if they can but Read and Write: and that either the Parents teach their Children to do, or elſe certain of their *Monks* for a ſmall ſtipend. They have no written Laws, Juſtice and Right is determined by Cuſtom, and the Examples of their Anceſtors: and moſt differences are ended by the Will of the Judge.

Their manner of Adminiſtring *Phyſick* is moſt Deplorable, They Cure Men by cutting and burning, as they do Horſes. They cure the *Yellow Jaundies*, by applying a hot burning Iron in manner of a Semicircle, toward the upper end of the Arm, laying a little Cotton upon the Wound, that the Humour may iſſue forth, ſo long as the Diſeaſe remains. In moſt Diſtempers, every Perſon is his own Phyſitian, and uſes ſuch Herbs as he learnt were uſeful from his Parents. Some are of Opinion, that it is not a Pin matter, whether they make uſe of *Phyſitians* or Apothecaries or no, not believing it worth their while to be recover'd at ſo great Expences. If the King be ſick, they come to him, ask him, as if it were out of pity, *What he ayles, and what is his Diſtemper?* And if any one have been ill of the ſame Diſtemper, he tells, what did him good, deeming the ſame Remedies applicable to all Conſtitutions. If a Peſtilence chance to break out, they leave their Houſes and Villages, and retire with their Heards into the Mountains, putting all their Security in flying from the Contagion. *Tertian Agues* they Cure, by applying the *Cramp-fiſh* to the Patient, which is an unſpeakable Torture. *Wounds* they Cure by the help of *Myrrhe*, which is very plentiful among them.

I have not as yet ever ſeen the Treatiſe of *Philoſophy*, which I mention'd at the beginning of the Chapter; but it appears by the Theological Diſputations of their Divines, that they are none of the Acuteſt Logicians; nor have they any knowledge of Natural Philoſophy, as is apparent to any one that reads their Books, concerning the mixture of the Four Elements in the Creation of Man; as alſo, concerning the Soul, the Author of the *Organum* gives this accompt.

God made a Miracle when he Created our Father Adam, *and Formed him of the Four Elements: he mixed the Elements, yet ſo that they ſhould not diſagree among themſelves; the Firſt with the Second, and the Third with the Fourth: he mix'd the dry with the Moiſt, and the Hot with the Cold; the Viſible with the Inviſible, the Palpable with the Impalpable: He made Two out of the Palpable*

pable and Two out of the Impalpable: He made Three of the Dry, and One of the Moist: He made Three out of the Visible, and One out of the Invisible. The great Architect knew where the Inner Chamber was to be Seated, and plac'd the Corners of the House in the Four Elements; *and understanding that a vessel of Clay could not move nor speak, without the mixture of a Spirit that must come from Himself, therefore he Breath'd upon his Face and made him Rational and Self-moving; as saith the most Holy Law.* He Breath'd into the Face of *Adam*, the breathing place of Life; and he became Man by the Breath of Life. *Therefore the Soul dies not with the Body; for that proceeding out of the Mouth of the Lord, it was mixt with the Body: as saith our Lord in the Gospel,* Fear not those who kill the Body, but cannot kill the Soul. *Now as to what he said,* Thou shalt not kill the Soul; *he spoke concerning the sensitive Soul: because there are two Souls in Man; one the* Spirit of Life, *which proceeded out of the Mouth of God, not reckon'd among the* Elements, *and which never dyes. The other is, the* Blood of the Body; *that is to say,* the Sensitive Soul, *which has its Original from the* Elements, *and that is Mortal. Wherefore God said,* Thou shalt not eat the Flesh with the Blood; *because the Blood is the Sensitive Soul. But the Pillar of the House of God, is the* Spirit of Life. *Now after the* Spirit of Life *is departed, the Body becomes a Carcass; therefore the Law pronounc'd the Carcass Unclean, because the* Spirit of Life *is departed from it. But among us, we reckon the Dead Body of a* Christian *to be clean, because the Human Body was mix'd with the Blood of Divinity: besides that the Grace of* Baptism *departs not from it: and concerning the Carcass of the* Son of the Virgin, David *said,* They cast away their Brother as an unclean Carcass. *That is, they did not understand it to be holy; because the* Jews *were his Brethren in respect of his Mother: and by their Law the Carcass was reputed unclean.*

It is to be wondred, that the *Habessines*, who cannot understand two Natures in Christ united in one Existence, should find out two Souls in the body of Man. And yet it is no wonder when we consider, that there are some, who imagine Three Souls in Man; whereas they might feign a great many more, should they but take every Animal Faculty for a Soul.

But these, and such like Conceptions admit of Excuse and Interpretation, though what the vulgar believe concerning the *Fabrick of the World*, are altogether absurd, and not worth relating,

relating, *viz.* That the Earth is a round Globe and pendent in the middle of the Air; this they look upon as a meer Fable. What think ye, they would ſay, ſhould any one teach them, that the Planets are Animals, and inſtead of the Sun, that ſtands ſtill, always walking the rounds of the Heavens? Or aſſert the *Antipodes* to them, with their Feet upwards, and their Heads downwards, and yet keeping a ſteady Motion? certainly they would think, that ſuch people would neceſſarily drop into Heaven; though as to this we are not to deride their Ignorance, in regard ſeveral Holy and Grave Men have deny'd the *Antipodes*: nevertheleſs, they moſt idly dream that when the Sun riſes and ſets, he goes and comes again through a certain kind of Window; but which way he gets under the Earth, they are not very ſollicitous about: and yet in this, they ſeem much wiſer than *Mahomet* the great Prophet of the *Muſſel-men*, who fancy'd, That the Sun went to ſleep in a Well; *Gregory* was taken for a very great *Philoſopher* in his Coûntry, for that he had made a certain Convex Model of Paſtboard, like the Arch of Heaven, to the inſide of which, he faſtned ſeveral graines of Wheat, to repreſent the Stars of the Firſt Magnitude, and then turn'd the Concavity uppermoſt, to ſhew how the Heavens mov'd about the Earth, encompas'd about by the Air.

As to the Liberal Arts they love *Poeſie* above all the reſt, but only that which is Divine: for Prophane Verſes they hate, which made *Gregory* extreamly wonder, that after the Worſhip of the *Heathen Gods* was quite taken away, and the Temples of their Gods were wholly deſtroyed, that the Books and Verſes which Treated or were Dedicated to them, were not as utterly Aboliſh'd. For that it was not fitting for Chriſtians to read the Rude and Obſcene Fables of their feigned Divinities, much leſs to imitate them, and fetch from thence the chief Ornaments of their Poems; ſeeing that the very Footſteps of Idolatry ought to be an abomination to Chriſtianity. Theſe Verſes of the *Ethiopians* conſiſt in meer Rithmes; if we may Aſſert Conſonants of the ſame Order differing in the Vowels, to be Rithmes. For beſide thoſe, there is no other Matter to be obſerv'd: Of theſe they have ſeveral ſorts, as we ſhall teach in another Place. They are alſo very much delighted with abſtruſe Sayings and Proverbs; as for Example, *The Mountains of* Kobol *as with a burning-Glaſs and ſo the prefix'd time of Man, is conſum'd by the paſſing of his days.*

They

They are extreamly Covetous of Learning, and were extreamly importunate with the *Jesuits* to teach their Children the Latine Language. But they were more eager in promoting the *Latine Religion*, then the *Language*; pretending the difficulty of the Undertaking, and the vast difference between the *Latine* and *Amharic* Pronounciation. Indeed, it cannot be deny'd, but that it is a most difficult thing to teach a Person who never heard of *Grammar*, as I found by the tryal of *Gregory*. For the *Habessines* learn Languages only by Converse, more especially the *Arabic*, which is frequently spoken by the neighbouring Merchants, the *Mahometans* who are subject to the King, and the Courtiers themselves; and in this Language the King Writes his Letters to Forrain Princes. On the otherside the *Arabians* themselves, as they are very much inclin'd to propagate their Fables among the Christians, write them in the *Arabick* Language, but make use of the *Ethiopic* Letters, that thereby they may the more easily impose upon the simple people. Private persons seldom write Letters, nor do they know the method of sending them. But if any one has a desire to write, he goes to the Scribe of the *Province*, who is call'd, *Pahase Hagare*, and for a small Sum of Money causes him to Compose them an *Epistle*: and you must know that the Exordiums of their Epistles are various in their Forms, for that in the Elegancy of their first Addresses, they place the chiefest ornament of their Complements.

CHAP. III.

Of the Names of Men among the Habessinians.

Their proper Names are significative not to be expounded Appellatively, taken most commonly from the Sacred names of the Trinity, Christ, Mary, *&c. The Heathenish Names detested. The Names of their Women, common with the* Arabian *Appellations; some peculiar.*

THe Native Names of the *Habessinians*, as well Men, as Women, which were not first introduc'd with their Divine Worship from the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Languages, or were not deriv'd to them from the *Copts* or *Arabians*, as *David*, *Jacob*, *Andrew*, *Theodore*, *Gregory*, are all Sig-

nificative. And therefore they that take them for *Appellatives* may thereby ſtrangely diſturb and confound the ſenſe and meaning of them: and therefore we thought it worth our while to expound ſome of them, to the end that by that means the reſt may be the more eaſily underſtood. Thoſe which have the Article *Za* affix'd before them as a mark of the *Genitive* Caſe, denote either ſome Devotion or Subjection: as for Example,

Zaſlaſſe, That is, a Subject or Votary to the Holy Trinity.

Zachriſtos: that is, devoted to Chriſt.

Zawalda Marjam, Of the Son of *Marie*.
Za Marjam, Of *Mary*.
Zadenghel, Of the *Virgin*.
Za Michael, Of *Michael*.
} Servant or Subject.

Tecla Slaſſe, The Plant of the *Trinitie*.

Many are compounded with the Name of *Chriſt*; as,

Gabra Chriſtos The Servant of Chriſt.
Sula Chriſtos, The Image of Chriſt.
Tzaga Chriſtos, The Grace of Chriſt.
Acala Chriſtos, The Subſtance of Chriſt.
Tenſſa Chriſtos, Chriſt aroſe.

Which in ſpeech are Contractedly pronounced thus, *Gabraxos*, *Seelaxos*, *Tzagaxos*, *Acalaxos*, *Tanſeaxos*.

Otherwiſe they are Compounded with the name of *Mary* or the *Virgin*; as,

Habta Marjam,	The Gift	Of *Mary* or the *Virgin*.
Tecla Marjam,	The Plant	
Mahtzentza Marjam,	The Gage	
Laica Marjam,	The Servant	
Atzfa Marjam,	The Mantle	
Serza Denghel,	The Bloſſom	

Other Names are fram'd out of other Divine and Sacred Words; as,

Tzaga-zaab, The Grace of the Father.
Fekur-Egzi-e The Beloved of God.
Jeſus Moa, Chriſt hath overcome.
Keſla-Wahed, The Portion of the only Son of God.
Amda-Tzehon, The Pillar of *Sion*.
Teſfa Tzejon, The hope of *Sion*.
Ber-a-Jacob The Seed of *Jacob*.
Zer-a-Johans The Seed of *John*.

Bahaila

Bahaila Selus, By the Vertue of the *Trinity*.
Bahaila Michael By the Vertue of *Michael*.

For they think it not becoming Christians to give their Children Heathenish Names; believing that their Children, by those Names which they bear, which were formerly those of Famous and Pious Men, are to be put in mind of their duties in matters of Religion and ordinary Converse: However the name of *Homodei*, so well known in *Italie* is found among these People, by the Name of *Seb-Waamla* which signifies *Man* and *God*.

The usual Names among the Women are,

Malacotavit, Or Divine.
Wangelawit, Or Evangelical.
Amataxos, The Handmaid of Christ.
Romana Wark, The Golden Pomgranat.

The Men have also several Names which are common with the *Arabians* and *Copts*: as,

Bazen.
Abreha.
Atzbeha.

They have also some other Names which are peculiar among themselves, as *Susnejos*, or *Susneus* which are wonderfully corrupted and mistaken by our *European* Authors: as when they write *Sacinos*, and *Socignos*, instead of *Susneus*.

Chap. IV.

Of the Domeſtick Oeconomie of the Habeſſines: *Their Marriages, Dyet, Cloathing, Habitations and Burials.*

Their Marriages Chriſtian. Polygamy *lawful by the Civil Laws, not by the Eccleſiaſtical. Divorces. Nuptial Ceremonies. Benediction Sacerdotal. Their Dyet raw Beef, or half boyl'd; and Herbs half concocted by the Cattle. What Bread. Their way of making Butter. Their waſhing their Cloathes. Their Drink. Hydromel Ale. Their Cloathing thin. Very Parſimonious, accuſtom'd to go Naked. They Curl and anoint their Hair with Butter. Mean Habitations. The Kings Palaces. Their manner of bewailing the Dead. The Funeral Pomp of their Kings.*

THe *Habeſſines* Marry with every one of their Wives after the Chriſtian manner: neither are they hindred by any Law of the Land from Marrying ſeveral, though they are Prohibited by their *Eccleſiaſtical* Penalties, as being contrary to the Sacred Canons and Inſtitutions of the Chriſtians: and therefore they that Exerciſe *Polygamie* are not admitted to the Communion, as we have already ſaid: For they are of that Opinion, That whatever is not prejudicial to the Publick, or to the ſecurity and Tranquillity of private Perſons is not to be Proſecuted with ſecular Puniſhment; Neither are they ſcrupulous in ſuing out Divorces; aſſuming the ſame liberty to put away as to marry their Wives.

As for the particulars of their Nuptial Ceremonies, they are not of that importance as to Merit a Relation; nor are they the ſame in all Countries. Thoſe which *Alvares* recounts, of the Nuptial Bed being brought forth and plac'd before the Doors of the Houſe by Three of the *Presbyters*, and then walking round it ſinging *Hallelujas*; or the cutting off the Locks of the Couple to be Wedded, for each to make an exchange, they were altogether unknown to *Gregory*; and that if it were the Cuſtom any where ſo to do, it was only as he ſaid, in ſome parts of *Tygra*: but that the *Sacerdotal Benediction* was neceſſary to all Weddings he abſolutely granted.

Their Diet is not only very homely, but alſo far differ-

rent

rent from ours; for they feed either upon raw Fleſh, or half boyl'd. *Alvares* gives you an Example of the Governour of *Hangot*, (*Angot-Ras*) who entertain'd *Rodoric Limez* at his Table with no other ſort of Junkets then ſuch mean Fare, very loathſom to the *Portugueſs* Embaſſadour; for inſtead of Sauce they bring the Gall, which pleaſes their vitiated Palates far better then Honey: but what is worſe than all this, they covet as a daintie, the half Concocted Graſs and green Herbs which they find in the Maws of the Beaſts which they kill, and greedily devour thoſe morſels, having firſt ſeaſon'd them with Pepper and Salt, as if the Beaſts better underſtood what Herbs were moſt wholſom then themſelves: a ſort of Dyet which none of our *Europeans* will envy them. Their Bread they bake upon the Embers, made in the faſhion of thin Pancakes, which they call *Apas*.

We have already declared, That in ſome of the *Ethiopian* Territories, the People live all upon Grazing; their Flocks and Herds are their only Riches, they eat their Fleſh, and drink their Milk. Thus that *King and no King Jacob*, lurking in the receſſes of the Rocks and Mountains, always carry'd his living Kitchen and Cellar with him, which were only three or four Goats at a time. Where the Air is temperate, they make excellent Butter and Cheeſe; but in the violent hot Countries they want that Food, by reaſon that the Exceſſive Heats hinder the Milk as well from thickning as turning. Alſo their manner of Grinding is both very difficult and very laborious, for they put the Grain into a diſh, and rub it round about with a wodden Peſtel till it be all bruis'd; afterwards they ſift it, and make Bread of the Flower: this is properly the Maids and the Womens work, ſo that you cannot compel the Servants to this ſort of Labour: but the Men waſh their leathern, or woollen Clothes if they have any themſelves, for Linnen is very ſcarce; and indeed the general Coverings of their Nakedneſs, are the Skins of their own Beaſts.

Their Drink is ſomewhat more dainty, and is the Glory and Conſummation of all their Feaſts; for ſo far they ſtill retain the Cuſtom of many of the Ancients, that as ſoon as the Table is clear'd, they fall to drinking; having always this Proverb in their mouths, *That it is the uſual way to Plant firſt, and then to Water*: they drink themſelves up to a merry Pitch, and till their Tongues run before their Wit, and never give off till the Drink be all out. They make excellent *Hydromel*,

mel by reaſon of their plenty of Honey, which inebriates like Wine, they call it *Tzed*; they make it ſmaller for their Families, mixing ſix parts of Wine, with one of Water. Another ſort of Liquor they have of their Fruits; whether an Invention of their own, or that they learnt it from the *Ægyptians*, they call it *Tzal*; and it may be ſaid to be a kind of Ale rather than Beer; as being boyl'd without Hopps, and therefore it will not keep: it is white, and ſweet, inſomuch that our Ale was much more bitter to *Gregories* taſte.

Their Apparel is no leſs mean and poor, only the Princes wear Silk; the Clergy and richer ſort make uſe of Cotton: the poorer ſort half-naked, cover themſelves with Skins, that hardly hide their privy Parts; which is alſo common among ſome of the Nobility and Prieſthood: which by the *Europeans* would be lookt upon as a great Scandal, to appear in the Church or the Chancel without Breeches. However the more noble ſort wear a kind of Breeches, or rather Trouſes down to their heels, yet with ſuch a frugality, that the King is not aſham'd of; for from the Waſte to the Knees, ſo far as the cloak covers them, they are only Linnen or elſe of ſome courſer ſtuff, and only that which appears below is of Silk: nor are they concern'd though the other be ſeen as they ſit, or Mount their Horſes. The Boys and Girls go ſtark Naked, which the heat of the Country may excuſe, yet Poverty is the main occaſion; till riper Years calls upon them to hide their Shame; yet then having been ſo accuſtomed to go Naked, they the leſs regard it. But what they want in decent Habit, they endeavour to ſupply in the Ornament of their Hair, for you may ſafely ſay, it is a full year before they Trim and Comb themſelves. They not only curl their Hair which makes it grow the ſtreighter, but alſo anoint it, not with fragrant Balſoms, or Oyles of Amber or Musk, but with Butter; not conſidering that they who are forc'd to turn their Noſes from the ſtench of their Locks, have not the opportunity to admire the luſtre of their Matted Treſſes: yet leſt an Ornament ſo ſlick and glittering ſhould be rumpl'd or ſqueez'd in the Night, they by means of a moſt exquiſite Invention preſerve it, reſting their Necks in a forked ſtick, that ſo their Heads may hang at liberty, preferring their Pride before Pain and Torture.

Nor does their Poverty leſs appear in their Houſes, for they that belong to the Camp, live all either in Tents, or in

Hutts

Hutts made up of Reeds and Rubbiſh, daub'd over with Clay or Lome, and cover'd with Straw or Sedge, which they leave behind them when they remove their Camp with no dammage, or condoling for the loſs of their Tenement, when they can as eaſily build another at the ſame rate. Not much better are their Villages, ſcarce ſecure againſt the Incurſions of the Beaſts of Prey. The *Cafers* like Wild Beaſts lye without any other Curtains or Canopie than that of Heaven, in the open Field, where Night conſtrains them to reſt. The Kings Houſes are of two Faſhions, the Longer which are call'd *Sakala*; and the Rounder, which if they be bigger then ordinary, are call'd *Beta Negus*, the Kings Houſes.

They bewail their Dead after a moſt doleful manner; for no ſooner do they hear of the Death of any great Perſonage, or any near Friend, but they proſtrate themſelves upon the Ground, where they lye knocking and bruiſing their Heads againſt it, with a cruelty very injurious to their Sculls. The Funeral of *Suſneus* as being moſt Remarkable, I ſhall here ſet down, to ſhew their ſolemnities in burying their Kings. The Body, being wrapt up and covered with a moſt rich and coſtly Garment, was carryed from *Dancaza*, where the Camp then lay, to the Church call'd *Ganeta--Jeſus*. Before the Hearſe the Banners and Enſignes were born, not Revers'd, as among us, but upright and diſplay'd, without any *Impreſes* or *Motto's*, but only adorn'd with various Colours: the Drums beat ſlow and mournfully: after them followed Three of the beſt Horſes which the King us'd to Ride, Magnificently capariſon'd, as if it had been for ſome Triumphal Pomp: next to them follow'd ſeveral of the Noblemens Sons, carrying the Kings Royal Robes, and Enſigns of Regality, as his Diadem, his Sword, his Belt, his Spear, his Buckler, *&c.* taking their turns, and by their geſtures and poſtures uſing all means to excite the People to Tears and Lamentation. To the ſame End the Queen her ſelf, following at a good diſtance wore upon her Head her Husbands particular Diadem; accompanied with her Daughters and all the Ladies and Virgins of Noble Extraction, all riding upon *Mules*, and having their Treſſes cut off: after them followed the Kings Son and Succeſſor, with his Brothers and all the Nobility, ſome on Horſeback, and ſome on Foot, in old tatter'd Habits, inſtead of Mourning: no Torches or *Flambeaus* lighted them along in their Proceſſion: no Tapers burning in the Church, nor

was

was any thing to be heard from one end to the other of it, but Groans and Lamentations, till the Body was laid in the Tomb: only ſome few *Monks* ſtanding before the Doors of the Church, read ſome few of the *Pſalms* of *David*. Next day they return'd to *Dancaza*; and then ſo ſoon as they came in ſight of the place, another ſort of Pomp was order'd. For the Hearſe being brought back again empty, was carry'd firſt, by which rode a certain Horſeman, adorn'd with the Emperours Habit and Robes; and before him rode another upon a Horſe richly capariſon'd, and arm'd with Helmet and Spear: in which manner after they had proceeded a little way, ſome certain Bands of Armed Soldiers March'd forth of the Camp to meet them, teſtifying their Sorrow, by their bitter Lamentations and Howlings. Then the Princes of the Kingdome and chiefeſt Lords of the Court entring the new Kings Pavillion, renewed their Moans with all expreſſions of Sorrow, and concluded the Solemnity at length, with congratulations and well-wiſhes for his happy Government, and proſperous ſucceſs in all his undertakings.

CHAP. V.

Of their Mechanic Arts and Trades.

Very few Handicrafts. The Jews *Weavers and Smiths. No Societies of Trades-men. Certain Families of Trumpeters. Architecture formerly known, now forgotten; compar'd with the Ancient* Germans. *Churches and Colledges built by the Fathers of the Societie. The Kings* Palace *Built after the* European *manner, admir'd. They are covetous of Learning and Sciences. What the King of* Ethiopia *chiefly wants.*

ALL this while, there is nothing of which they ſtand more in need then of Handicraft Trades: for thereby they are deſtitute of ſo many conveniencies of Human Life, as we abound in by the help of our Arts and Sciences. The *Jews* are almoſt the only perſons that employ themſelves among them in weaving of Cotton: they alſo make the Heads of their Spears and ſeveral other pieces of Workmanſhip in Iron, for they are excellent Smiths; a ſort of Trade otherwiſe abhorr'd by the *Habeſſines*; which *Gregory* confirm'd with a ſmile; ſaying, That the ſilly vulgar people could not endure Smiths, *as being a ſort of Mortals that*

ſpit

ſpit fire, and were bred up in Hell. As for other things, every one takes Care to ſupply his own wants either by his own or the pains of his Servants, which it is no hard matter to do; conſidering how little they have to uſe. And for the great Men, they have particular men for all their particular Employments: therefore there are no *Guilds*, or Fraternities of Trades-men among them, which are ſo frequent in all our Cities, who have their By-laws contriv'd by themſelves, more for the good of themſelves, than for the benefit of the Commonweale: for amongſt us, the skilful and unskilfull, the juſt dealer and unjuſt, are all alike; as being all under the ſame By-laws; and they exerciſe a kind of Monopolie of their Trade, ſo that their fellow Citizens are as it were Forraigners among them, and compell'd to obey their Injunctions. But in *Habeſſinia*, what ever Art any one Profeſſes, that he teaches his Children. The *Trumpeters* and *Horn-winders* are all of the ſame Families, and have their particular Country and Manſions by themſelves. Formerly *Architecture*, as it was in requeſt, ſo it was an Art well known among them, as is evident by the Ruines of the City of *Axuma*, and the Structures of Magnificent Temples cut out of the Live Stone Rocks: but the Imperial Seat being removed into *Amhara*, it grew out of date. For the Kings having deſerted *Axuma*, by reaſon of their long and frequent Marches being accuſtomed to their Camps, rather choſe to abide in Tents and Pavillions. Beſides that, after the havocks of the *Adelan* Wars, and the Invaſions of the *Gallans*, found that the *Caverns* and *Receſſes* of their Inacceſſible Mountains were far more ſafe and convenient and better ſhelter then ſumptuous Palaces. Therefore what *Tacitus* hath written concerning our Ancient *Germans*, may be rightly apply'd to the *Habeſſines*. *It is ſufficiently known, that Cities are not inhabited by any of the* Habeſſine *People, neither do they permit contiguous Buildings among them. They place their Villages not as we do, building onr Houſes cloſe one to another; but every one encompaſſes to himſelf a ſpace of ground peculiar to his Habitation, whether to prevent the accidents of Fire, or whether it be their ignorance in the Art of Building. They neither uſe Cement or Tiles, the whole compoſure of their Fabricks, being all of rude and Courſe Materials, without the leaſt appearance of Elegancy or Ornament.*

But the Fathers of the Societies, having deſign'd their *European* Structures before, carry'd an *Architect* with them out of

India, and having found out Lime, unknown to the *Habeſſines* for ſo many Ages, built their Churches and their Colledges of Stone and Mortar, and encompaſs'd them with High-walls, to the amazement and dread of the *Habeſſines*, leſt they ſhould in time be made ſo many Impregnable Forts and Caſtles. But there was nothing which they ſo much admir'd as the Palace which they built for the King; of which the chief Architect was *Peter Pays*, both Labourer and Work-maſter, both Surveyer, Carpenter, and Maſon himſelf, and Inſtructor of others. A Work which afterwards the People from all parts of *Ethiopia*, far and near flock't to ſee. However that the *Habeſſines* have a great deſire to learn all thoſe Arts and Sciences which are neceſſary both in Peace and War, is apparent by King *David*'s Letter to *John* the Third King of *Portugal*, wherein he deſires of the King to ſend him *Printers*, *Armorers*, *Cutlers*, *Phyſitians*, *Chirurgians*, *Architects*, *Carpenters*, *Goldſmiths*, *Miners*, *Bricklayers*, *and Jewellers*. *Erneſtus* alſo, Duke of *Saxony*, demanding of *Gregory*, *What the King of* Habeſſinia *moſt deſir'd out of* Europe? made anſwer, *Tebebat*, *Arts and Handicraft Trades*; well underſtanding, that neither Merchandize nor any other Calling could well be follow'd without the help of the Workmans Tool.

Alvar. Tom. 2. Hiſpan. illuſtrat. *p.* 1297.

Chap. VI.

Of their Journies, and Travelling, as alſo an Account of the ways to Habeſſinia.

Pilgrimages now rare. They Travel upon Mules. No Inns or Wagons. Their Hoſpitality. The way into Ethiopia *dangerous. An account of the ſeveral ways to it.*

HOwever in the midſt of all this penury of *Exotic* Arts and Conveniencies, the *Habeſſines* of their own accord never care to ſtir out of their Native Country, as being ignorant of Forraign Languages and Regions; nor can they diſtinguiſh between the *European* Nations, which they believe to be all *Franks*, and their Religion the *Latine Worſhip*; only they can tell the *Engliſh* from the *Dutch* Merchants. Neither do they underſtand the way of Exchange, or

or keeping Correſpondence: Beſides, they are deterr'd by their own Poverty from undertaking ſuch dangerous Journeys through ſo many uncouth Deſerts.

Formerly indeed they frequently made their holy Pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*, and ſo back again to *Rome*, when the *Mamalucks* were Lords of *Egypt*; their Government being more gentle, and the ways then far leſs dangerous then afterwards: but the Covetouſneſs of the *Turks* has quite alter'd the Caſe, for the Baſha's and Governours of the Iſlands of the *Red Sea*, and the upper *Egypt*, Men for the moſt part of baſe and ſordid Condition, having bought their Employments at Court with Mony, without any ſenſe of Law or Equity, ſo torment and vex all ſorts of Travellers, and ſuck the Merchants Purſes in ſuch manner, though to the utter impoveriſhing the Subject and utter decay of Trade, have ruin'd all Commerce and Society with thoſe Places: ſo that the *Habeſſines* now very rarely viſit *Jeruſalem*; and more rarely go to abide there, as they were wont. For though there, they are ſomewhat more free from the exactions of the Church, yet are they more oppreſs'd by want; in regard that the Revenues ſettled by the *Habeſſines* Kings upon Pilgrims in thoſe Parts, are in the hands of the *Turks*; ſo that unleſs the Alms of the Place which are very ſparing, God knows, ſupport them, hunger preſently deſtroys them.

In their Travelling, they only make uſe of Mules; neither can any other Creature perform that kindneſs to Man as they do, over ſo many craggie Rocks and Mountains, where it is impoſſible for Waggons, Carts, or Coaches to paſs. Their Horſes they preſerve very charily for War, and Racing. *Gregory* wondred when he ſaw our cover'd Wains: He call'd that wherein He and I travell'd together *Bet*, a Houſe, and wiſh'd he had ſuch a one to carry him into *Ethiopia*. The Great Men and richer ſort, carry all their Domeſtick Houſhold-ſtuff along with them upon their Mules; and where Night over-takes 'em, there they pitch their Tents, and kindle Fires about them to skare the Wild Beaſts. The poorer ſort, when they have occaſion to Travel beg upon the Rode; for there is not an Inn to be ſeen among them; and for Cooks Shops and Ordinaries, they know as little what belongs to them. Upon which happen'd a pleaſant accident at *Rome*. Where the ſimple *Habeſſines* newly arriv'd out of the *Eaſt*, being walking in the *Suburbs*, were invited by a Cook into

his Shop. They believing all Invitations to be made *gratis*, at firſt admir'd the Hoſpitallity of the Man; but then conſidering, that it might be done out of Curioſity, to ſee and diſcourſe with ſtrangers, went into the Shop, and very chearfully accepted of what was ſet before them: but at length, when they were going away, they conſulted together for Phraſe and Language to return their thanks to ſo kind an Hoſt for his liberal Entertainment, which one among the reſt, who beſt underſtood the Language was to deliver to the Cook in the behalf of his Companions. The Cook having liſten'd a while to their Learned Speech, and not hearing a word of any Mony, without any reſpect to the ſmoothneſs of their Language, *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *who pays?* The *Habeſſines* like Men Aſtoniſh'd made anſwer, *That they came not into his Shop of their own accord, but by his Invitation, without any mention made of Expectancy of Payment; and that he, when he ſet his Wine and his Meat before them, never bargain'd for any Money, for that was the very thing they wanted.* But all this would not ſatisfie the Cook, who forc'd them to leave their Cloaks in Pawn, which were afterwards redeem'd at the *Popes* Charity, which made the Courtiers not a little Merry.

However the *Habeſſines* themſelves are not ignorant of Hoſpitality, for that in their Villages they appoint the Chiefeſt of the Inhabitants for the Relief of the Poor: and indeed the Exerciſe of Hoſpitallity is highly recommended by the *Apoſtolical Doctrine*, for the Relief of poor People driven from their abodes by the misfortunes of War, or other Calamities. Nor were our Anceſtors defective in their Chriſtian Charity, as having founded ſeveral Magnificent Pallaces, and endowed them with ample Revenues, were they but employ'd according to the Founders Deſign.

And here it may be very proper to ſet down the ſeveral ways that lead into *Ethiopia* by Land, and where they that go by Sea are to put in for a Landing Place.

The way from *Egypt* into *Habeſſinia* is moſt troubleſome, difficult, and ſubject to many dangers, as well by reaſon of the Extortions of the *Turks*, the Robberies committed by ſeveral vagabond Nations, through which they are to paſs, and the unwholeſomneſs of the Climates; though formerly when thoſe Kingdoms and Satrapies were under a ſtricter Government, the Paſſage was ſafe enough, and more frequented. Nevertheleſs there are at this day ſeveral Troops of Merchants,

Merchants, who ſetting out from *Gran Caire*, are carry'd up the *Nile* againſt the Stream as far as *Monſallot*, and thence Travelling in *Caravans*, firſt come to *Sijut*, and ſo in order to the following Towns.

Places.	Days Journeys.
Wach	3.
Meks	2.
Scheb	3.
Sellim	3.
Moſchu	5.
Dungala	5.

Which is accounted the Metropolis of *Nubia*: Then they come into the Kingdom of *Sennar* under a Mahumetan Prince, now neighbour to the *Habeſſines*, and ſometimes alſo their Enemy, and therefore ſuſpected by the Chriſtians. From *Dungala* therefore they Travel to

Places	Days Journeys.
Kſhabi	3.
Korti	3.
Trere	3.
Gerri	1.
Helſage	1.
Arbatg	3.
Sennar.	4.

In Travelling from *Wacha* to *Sennaar*, the Merchants ſtaying in many places about the affairs of their Traffick, are wont to ſpend Three whole Months, though it might be done in a far ſhorter time, without ſtop or lett. From *Sennaar* in Fourteen days time they arrive at the Confines of *Habeſſinia*. The Entrance is call'd *Tshelga*; but the ſafeſt and ſhorteſt Cut is through the *Red Sea*, ſo you can agree with the *Turks*; this Paſſage is Two-fold, for either the Merchants ſet out from *Caire* for *Sueſſo* a Port upon the *Red Sea*, from whence they ſet Sail for *Gidda* another Port upon the ſame Sea; from thence they ſet Sail again for *Suaqena* and *Matzua*; or if they cannot ſo long brook the Sea, they mount againſt the Stream from *Cairo* to *Girgea*, then by Land they travel to *Gidda* in Two days, thence to *Alcoſſir* in Four days, where

where they take Shipping for *Gidda*, and ſo to *Suaqena*, &c. This way the Metropolitans uſe to take, as did *Abdelmeſih* in the Year 1662. with whom it is the ſafeſt Travelling, if any of the *Europeans* are deſirous to viſit *Abaſſia*. *Michael*, the *Habeſſinian* Embaſſadour to the Emperour of the *Turks*, told *Thevenot*, That a Man may reach from *Guendra* to the Iſland of *Suaqena* in a Fortnight; and from hence, in forty or fifty days to *Grand Cairo* by Land. So that to Travel from the *Royal Camp* to *Grand Cairo*, will take up three Months. There is another way by Sea, round about *Africa*; but then you put in to ſome Port of *Africa*, that ſo you may take your opportunity to get into the *Perſian Gulph*: Many would prefer this way as moſt facile, tho tedious and troubleſom had the *Habeſſines* any Sea Port at their Command. They that have buſineſs at *Moccha* in *Arabia*, have the advantage of croſſing over to *Matzua* that lyes over againſt it; and ſo from *Arkiko* the Paſſage lies eaſie: nor do they amiſs that make for *Baylur* a Sea Port belonging to the King of *Denkala*, in Amity with the *Habeſſines*; only the Journey by Land from thence is tedious and very much infeſted by the Robberies of the *Gallans*; though they that can Travel with a good Band of Muſqueteers need little fear them.

Zeyla a Port belonging to the *Adelans* is more Remote, and altogether unſafe, becauſe of the deadly hatred between them and the *Habeſſines*; as two of the Fathers of the Society found true. For miſtaking this Port, for that of *Baylur*, they paid for their miſtake with the loſs of their Heads. The other more *Southern* Ports as *Melinda*, *Magodoſh*, &c. are too far diſtant from the *Habeſſines*; beſides the whole Region is Inhabited with none but wild and ſavage People, whoſe petty Princes are in continual Wars one with another, and exerciſe their Fury againſt all Strangers as Spies, nor are there any Guides to be found.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Merchandize, and Exchange of Merchandize in Habeſſinia.

The Arabians *chiefly, next the* Armenians *the chief Merchants; all bargains by Exchange, of Gold, Iron, Salt. What Goods Exported, what Imported.*

FRom what hath been ſaid, it appears that the *Ethiopians* are no way addicted or expert in the Art and Intreagues of Merchandizing; for they that will not Travel into Forraign Parts muſt yield their gains to others; for gain is to be ſought, not coming of it ſelf. Therefore the *Arabians* who Inhabit the Ports of the *Red Sea*; eſpecially, the *Mahumetans* ſcattered over the Kingdom, are the Chief Merchants in *Habeſſinia*, for being of the ſame Religion they have the free liberty of all the Ports of the *Red Sea*: next to theſe the *Armenians*, not much differing in their Form of Worſhip, from the *Abeſſines*, carry the greateſt Trade, as being great Dealers in all parts of the World. They Import ſundry ſorts of Commodities, but carry out all the Gold; that 'tis no wonder the *Ethiopians* ſhould be ſo poor: for neither Gold nor Silver is imported into their Country, but only an Exchange is made for *Indian* Wares. And then becauſe there is no Money coin'd in *Ethiopia*, the more ſilly and ignorant ſort of People, becauſe they come eaſily by their Gold, as finding it among the Sand, or at the Roots of Trees, let it go again at low Rates. For if the Merchant deny it to be good, they exchange it for as much as they can get, never queſtioning the Merchants exception. But the Nobility and more cunning ſort, carry a Touch-ſtone always about 'em, with which they try their Gold, then weigh it out, and pay it by the Ounce. The *Ethiopic Vaket*, or Ounce amounts, as *Gregory* told me, to the value of the *Spaniſh Patacoon*, or our Imperial *Dollar*: Therefore it is, that Exchange is far more frequent in *Habeſſinia*, then buying and ſelling; which Exchange is made with Iron ſometimes, but chiefly for Salt hewn out of the Mountains; which in moſt Countrys ſupplies the Place of Mony, with which you may purchaſe all things. In the more remote Parts of *Ethiopia* you may buy a good

Mule

Mule with two or three Bricks of that Salt. Formerly Pepper had the ſame pre-eminence.

The Commodities Imported, are *Babylonian* Garments of all ſorts, Velvet, Silken; but chiefly Woollen and Fuſtian, which the great Men wear inſtead of Purple, which at this day they have loſt the skill of Dying. Spices, and eſpecially Pepper they covet to ſeaſon their inſipid Dyet. Wares for Exportation they have few, beſides Gold, Skins, Hides, Wax, Honey, and Ivory: ſcarce any thing elſe remarkable. Many more they certainly might have, did the *Habeſſinian* Kings encourage Traffick and Merchandizing, and if the Country were more commodious for Carriage. The beſt Merchandize in *Habeſſinia*, and moſt important for the Prince, were a more cultivated Ingenuity of the People; together with a perfect knowledge of the Latine Language, together with addition of our Arts, and Handicraft Trades, which would advance the Affairs of thoſe poor Chriſtians to a more flouriſhing Eſtate, and weaken the ſtrength of the *Barbarians*.

The Almighty God ſtir up the Hearts of our Princes, to lend their Aſſiſtance to this Ancient Chriſtian Nation, which might prove ſo uſeful to Propagate Chriſtianity in thoſe Remote Parts of the World; and ſo glorious to themſelves and their Poſterity.

THE END.